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OF

FROM 1780 TO 1784.

INCLUDING

A NARRATIVE

OF THE

IMPRISONMENT AND SUFFERINGS

OUR OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS,

BY AN OFFICER OF
COLONEL BAILLIE'S DETACHMENT.

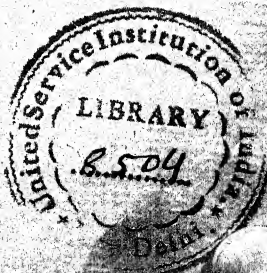
THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

SOLD BY J. SEWELL, CORNHILL; AND J. DEBRETT,
PICCADILLY.

1789.

~~Prisoner of War~~





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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE COMPILER of these Memoirs, in an Advertisement prefixed to the First Edition, declared, that if, after every endeavour to investigate, and with the sincerest desire to state the truth, any error should have been inserted, prejudicial to any man, neither means nor inclination were wanting to make due reparation.

---Such errors, he is sorry to find, on the most incontestible evidence, have in fact been committed in several, but in two or three, very important instances. These errors it becomes, of course, the duty of the Compiler to correct: and this he would have done at the expence, without any encouragement to publish a new edition.

---The rapid sale of a large impression, and a continued demand for the Memoirs, enables him to discharge his obligations to the Public, and to do homage to the cause, without making any sacrifice to justice.

BUT

BUT what the Compiler of the Memoirs considers as a more pleasing, as well as a more honourable reward of his pains, is, the various and valuable communications with which he has been favoured, from different quarters, respecting the origin, progress, and termination of the war, and others descriptive of places and physical productions, of customs, manners, and opinions, which, if they had not always any direct influence on the course of events, might, nevertheless, be fitly introduced, and give relief to the narrative by way of episodes. It is only a small portion of this new and interesting matter that could be introduced in this compressed edition of the Memoirs: but it encourages him to attempt, and will assist his endeavours to execute, an historical account of our affairs in India, civil and military, from the year 1763, to 1783, inclusive. And he hopes that the candour with which he acknowledges and remedies his mistakes, and the respect which he shews to truth, will invite still farther information.

THOUGH

THOUGH Memoirs are not subjected to the laws of regular history, in every composition there should be, as much as possible, an unity of design, a proportion of parts, a beginning, a middle, and an end. It has therefore been thought proper, as a comprehensive history of the period above mentioned is in contemplation, to abridge, for the present, the political digressions contained in the former edition of this Work, and to give only such a general view of the Mahratta war, as may be necessary, in order to convey to the reader an idea of the state of India when Hyder-Ally invaded the Carnatic.--Thus, a natural and strong bond of connection will unite the principal events recorded: the invasion of Hyder, which emphatically opens the scene; the conflicts and the sufferings to which this gave birth; the efforts that were made on both sides for continuing the war; the military skill and valour displayed in its progress, and particularly at its most critical period; the restoration of peace; and the measures taken by the East-India Company, and the

the British Government, for preventing similar irruptions, and securing the peaceful possession of their eastern dominions.

THE pressing demands of those who are anxious to know, and to have a record of the fate of their relations and friends, have induced the Writer of the Memoirs to introduce, after the fatal battle of Ticoallum, an abridged account on the whole, though containing some new and very interesting particulars, of the narrative of the imprisonment and sufferings of our officers and soldiers. If this melancholy episode should be thought disproportioned, in too high a degree, to the body of the Work, the Compiler must take shelter from the rigour of criticism in the same moral feelings which have given circulation to the Memoirs with all their imperfections. But, it may be proper to mention, that it is not intended either to interweave or to annex this Narrative to the History which he has been encouraged to announce to the Public.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

PAGE 239, After the word *enemy*, add, with instructions to Captain Flint, the Commanding Officer, to secure them in the fort, in proper time, the next morning

P. 339, After the word *Colonel*, the last of the line and page, add, whose junction with Munro was now become more necessary than ever

P. 432, After the first paragraph of that page, ending with Hanoverians, add, by intelligence received in June and July, 1783, from different quarters, it appears, that the loss sustained on the 13th of June by the French, amounted, in killed and wounded, at the lowest computation, to 900 men and 40 officers.

P. 435, last line, after the word *which*, add, as he supposed

P. 437, line 6th, After the words *much less*, add, in the absence of the southern force, without great inconvenience

P. 438, line 24th, Instead of *in Tanjore*, read, south of the Coleroon

P. 439, line 17th, Instead of *before*, read, near Mangalore.

P. 440, line 24th, Instead of *consisted*, read, is said to have consisted

P. 441, line 5th, Instead of *amounted*, read, is said to have amountd

P. 446, line 15th, Delete *that an army had gone against Arcot*

P. 448,

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- P. 448, For the check word, *After*, at the bottom, read
The
- P. 453, Parag. 2d, line 2d, After the word *French*, add,
Colonel Cosigny
- P. 457, Parag. 2d, line 2d, After the word *by*, read,
an inland invasion of
—— line 4th, After the words, *occurred to*,
read, *those who seemed*
- P. 458, line 23d, After the word *therefore*, read, propo-
sed to the Committee of Council at
- P. 459, line 14th, After the words *Commander in Chief*,
add, who was never of opinion that this negotiation
would come to a prosperous issue
- P. 463, line 2d, After the word *Coromandel*, read,
nearly
- P. 472, last line, After the word *were*, read, said to
have been

M 695

WAR IN ASIA,

FROM


1780 to 1784.

United Service
of India.

THE difficulties under which Great Britain laboured at the commencement of 1780 in the west, begun by the exercise of power over a kindred nation, continued by intestine division, and prolonged by the incapacity of Commanders in Chief, exciting at once the hopes and the revenge of her enemies in the east, united the discordant Mahratta states, Hyder-Ally-Cawn, the Soubah of the Deccan, the Rajah of Berar, and almost all the lesser powers of Hindostan, in a confederacy against the English. This formidable association, which was encouraged by emissaries from France, and confirmed by military succours from the French islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, was a source of great danger and

A

alarm



alarm to our government in Asia, as well as of suffering to individual British subjects: for hence the devastation of the Carnatic, the execution or capture of three armies, and the imprisonment, torture, and assassination of more of our officers and soldiers than had ever before fallen into the hands of our eastern enemies. But the spirit of our Civil Rulers, and Military Commanders in India, particularly the genius of one man, contending against fluctuating counsels at home, and the opposition and errors of his colleagues in office abroad, restored peace and prosperity to the British settlements in Asia, and liberty to the numerous captives dispersed in different jails on the coast of Malabar, in constant apprehension of those murderous attacks that had been made from time to time, by regular and fixed gradations, on their unfortunate fellow-prisoners and countrymen.

1777.] While Roganaut-Row, a claimant of the Mahratta administration, under the protection of the government of Bombay, fomented dissensions in the government of Poonah, and, deceived in all probability himself, magnified both the numbers and the power of his partizans among his countrymen, the enemies of that unfortunate Chief gave open countenance

nance to agents from France and Austria. Formal engagements, if common report could be trusted, had passed between a majority of the Mahratta Chiefs and the French Agent St. Lubin. The object of these, it was evident, whatever it might be, must, if attained, prove destructive to the trade of the English Company, and to the British influence in India. Thus a foundation was laid for jealousies on both sides. The Mahrattas suspected that the English still entertained the design of raising Roganaut-Row to the administration of Poonah; and the English, that the Poonah Ministers had entered into an alliance with the French, for the purpose of subverting the British power and authority in Asia.

That either Roganaut-Row, or some other Chief, should be placed at the head of the Mahratta regency, who should conduct the government on the ground of alliance and friendship with the English, was a measure which the present juncture of affairs rendered highly expedient: but, that a military force should be sent from Bengal to support the government of Bombay, at all adventures, in opposition to the power and machinations of our enemies both in Europe and Asia, seemed necessary to the very existence of the British settlements in

India. A war with the Mahrattas, under the conduct of Mr. Hastings in the cabinet, and the immediate direction of General Goddard in the field, was carried on, notwithstanding certain miscarriages in its outset, arising from the weak councils of Bombay, with prosperous success. But, in the mean time, the intrigues of the French with the Mahratta Chiefs and Hyder-Ally-Cawn, their reports of the general combination against the British empire in Europe and in America, of the misfortunes that had befallen, and that still threatened to befall us, joined to their assurance of powerful succours by sea and land, spread a general opinion throughout India, that all the crowns which centered in the King were tottering on his head, and that some of them had already fallen. The latent sparks of ambition and revenge, which the power and prosperity of Great Britain had smothered, began now to smoke and threaten an eruption. A combination, in which the Soubah of the Deccan, reputed the most subtle politician, after the death of Nundocomar, in the east, took the lead, was formed among the great powers of Hindostan against the English.

In the month of June, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, Hyder-Ally Cawn invaded the Carnatic, with an army of one hundred

dred thousand men, a large train of artillery, a considerable European force, and many French officers. Repeated intelligence from the frontier garrisons, for a year past, of the enemy's preparations and hostile designs, had been treated at the presidency of Madras with contempt.—The majority of the Select Committee would not believe that an invasion was intended, till the enemy's horse appeared on the Choultry plain, and drove them from their garden houses within the walls of Fort St. George.

The Company's troops on the Coromandel coast were scattered in different and distant garrisons. The troops in the town and neighbourhood of Madras, with those under Col. Braithwaite at Pondicherry, were drawn together at the Mount, and composed their main army, consisting of fifteen hundred Europeans, and four thousand two hundred sepoy, with an artillery of forty-two field pieces, five cohorns, and four battering cannon. This force, under the command of General Sir Hector Munro, marched to Conjeveram, the largest village in the Carnatic, sixty miles distant from Madras, and thirty-five from Arcot, at that time besieged by the enemy. There the General determined to wait till he should be joined by Colonel Cosby, with a detachment from Tanjore, of fifteen hundred
A 3 sepoy,

sepoys, four hundred cavalry, with their light infantry, and four three pounders; and by Colonel Baillie, from the Northern Circars, at the head of three thousand men, including two companies of European infantry, and sixty European artillery men, with ten field pieces.

But Hyder-Ally, informed of the movements of the English army, raised the siege of Arcot, detached the flower of his army, under the command of his son Tippoo, to cut off the detachment under Colonel Baillie, who now lay in camp at Perambaukum, a small village, distant from the main army about fifteen miles, remaining himself in the neighbourhood of Conjeveram, in order to watch the motions of Sir Hector Munro. The detachment under Tippoo consisted of thirty thousand horse, eight thousand foot, and twelve pieces of artillery. This numerous body, Colonel Baillie, with his usual intrepidity, repulsed for several times, in an action that lasted for several hours, with great slaughter. The enemy, however, still hung upon his party, with an evident intention of renewing their attacks whenever they should find a favourable opportunity: the Colonel, therefore, advised the Commander in Chief of his situation, and expressed his doubts of being able to effect a junction.

Sir

Sir Hector Munro, having received this intelligence on the sixth of September, detached Colonel Fletcher, on the evening of the eighth, to the relief of Colonel Baillie, with a chosen body of twelve hundred men, who, having marched in good order, and with great expedition, joined their friends, at break of day, on the ninth. On the evening of that day, at eight o'clock, the united detachments marched, by divisions, towards Conjeveram. About ten o'clock, three guns were fired by the rear-guard. which induced Colonel Baillie to believe that they were attacked. He therefore ordered the line to turn to the right about, and to form in the rear, with their front towards Perambaukum. The enemy kept up an incessant fire, though with little effect; and as they did not discover an inclination to advance, the English Commander gave orders for the troops to face to the right, and to march into the avenue through which they had passed a few minutes before. The whole line being now formed in this avenue, a general halt took place; and Captain Rumley, with five companies of sepoy grenadiers, was detached to storm two guns that had now opened with great execution on our left. There is not a doubt but this party would have accomplished the service on which they were sent, had not a water-course, which happened at that time to be unfordable,

obliged them to return to the line. A degree of disorder, arising from this and the other movements just mentioned, was, perhaps, the reason why Colonel Baillie came to the unfortunate resolution of halting all night.

On the morning of the next day, being the 10th of September, as soon as it was day-light, our little army pursued their march, and, soon after, observed Tippoo Saib's army moving, in the same direction, on their left flank; on which, four of the enemy's guns opened with great effect. So hot was the fire sustained by our men, and so heavy the loss, that Colonel Baillie ordered the whole line to quit the avenue, and present a front to the enemy, whilst Captain Rumley, with two battalions of grenadier sepoys, and the marksmen, should storm their guns.—These were abandoned by the enemy, while our sepoys were yet at the distance of two hundred yards. But as our little detachment were advancing to seize and spike them, a sudden cry among the sepoys of horse! horse! threw them into confusion, and they retreated with precipitation.—It was the main army of Hyder, who being informed of the embarrassing situation of Colonel Baillie, had advanced for the improvement of so favourable a conjuncture. He came onward at first, as if he had determined to charge
our

outline, but suddenly wheeled off. He soon, however, brought sixteen guns to bear on our right flank, while Tippoo Saib, with about half that number, played on our left. Our troops kept up a distant cannonade for about an hour and an half, when their guns being silenced by a scarcity of ammunition, and a great number of our artillery men having fallen, the enemy began to advance upon them, though slowly. They were now ordered to lie down in their ranks, in hopes that the main army would come to their assistance. The enemy pressed closer and closer : and it was at last thought necessary to support one of the battalions in the rear by the example of a company of European grenadiers, under the command of Captain Ferriers. The sepoys seeing the grenadiers in motion without being apprized of their design, or properly prepared for it, followed in great disorder. The grenadiers immediately halted, and used every method to restore order in vain. The other sepoys, panick-struck by lying under a heavy cannonade, at the sight of their confusion and retreat, gave up all for lost, and, throwing down their arms, fled to a small coppice wood. The party under Captain Ferriers were immediately joined by all the Europeans, on a rising ground, which they defended against repeated attacks, whilst the enemy's horse made dreadful havock among the sepoys.

sepoys. Our countrymen remained firm and intrepid, and seemed determined to sell their lives as dear as possible. Hyder's horse and foot, in one confused multitude, advanced within fifteen yards of that small body of men, but could not break them. Many of our men raising themselves from the ground, received the enemy on their bayonets. But the British Commander, finding now that there was not any prospect of being relieved by General Munro, and knowing that it was impossible for such an handful of men to maintain their ground much longer, stepped forward with a white handkerchief, and commanded them to order their arms and call for quarter. The Chief, to whom Colonel Baillie held up the flag of truce, treated it at first with contempt, and, at the same time endeavoured to cut off the Colonel. A few minutes after this, our men received orders to lay down their arms, with intimation that quarter would be granted. This order was no sooner complied with than the enemy rushed upon them in the most ferocious manner: seven-eighths of the whole were put to the sword, and, but for the humane interposition of the French Commanders, Lally and Pimoran, who implored and insisted with the conqueror to shew mercy, the gallant remains of our little army must have fallen.

fallen a sacrifice to that savage thirst of blood with which the tyrant disgraced his victory.

Hyder, after the action, as he was apprehensive of being pursued by Sir Hector Munro, leaving many of his wounded men on the field of battle, retreated to a place, near Damul, called the Round Wells, where he had before encamped. Having heard, on his arrival at this place, of the retreat of our army towards Chingliput, he dispatched his cavalry to pursue and harass them. They returned next day, loaded with plunder, and with many prisoners, most of them grievously wounded.

While the enemy's horse and elephants marched again and again in barbarian triumph over the field of battle, the wounded and bleeding English, who were not instantly trodden to death by the feet of those animals, lingered out a miserable existence, exposed in the day to the burning rays of a vertical sun, and in the night to the ravages of foxes, jackalls, and tigers, allured to that horrid scene by the scent of human blood. Many officers, as well as privates, stripped of all that they had, after protracting hour after hour, and day after day, in pain, miserably perished; others rising, as it were from the dead, after an incredible loss of blood, which induced,
for

for a time the most perfect insensibility and stupefaction, found means to rejoin their friends in chains, with whom they were destined to share, for years, the horrors of the gloomy jail, rendered still more dreadful by frequent apprehensions of that assassination which, they had the most undoubted proofs, had been practised on numbers of their fellow-prisoners, dispersed in different places of confinement, throughout the dominions of a barbarous enemy.

Hyder-Ally, seated in a chair in his tent, at Damul, six miles from the scene of action, enjoyed the sight of his prisoners, and the heads of the slain. Colonel Baillie, with several other officers, who, like himself, were inhumanly wounded, were carried to his camp. The vehicle on which the Colonel was borne was a cannon. While these unfortunate gentlemen lay on the ground, in the open air, at Hyder-Ally's feet, heads of their unfortunate friends were, from time to time, presented to the conqueror; some of them even by English officers, who were forced to perform this inhuman service. One English gentleman, in particular, was forced to carry two heads of his countrymen, which proved to be Captain Phillips and Doctor Wilson. But, soon after the arrival of the English officers, Hyder, touched with a latent spark of humanity,

humanity, ordered the practice of bringing heads before him, while the English gentlemen were present, to be discontinued; and the heads of Captain Phillips and Doctor Wilson he ordered to be removed. A dooley was sent to the field of battle in search of Colonel Fletcher; but he could not find him. The Colonel's head was afterwards carried to the barbarian's camp. As some of our officers were obliged to carry the heads of their countrymen to Hyder's camp, so others were obliged to carry heavy loads of firelocks. For every European head that was brought to the barbarian by any of his own people, who were volunteers in that service, a premium was given of five rupees; for every European brought alive, ten rupees. The conqueror, enjoying a barbarous triumph over our captive countrymen, suffered them to remain in his presence till sun-set, without ordering them the smallest assistance in their distress.

Hyder, intoxicated with success, exulted over Colonel Baillie in terms which our countryman retorted with such spirit and contempt, that Colonel Asfar, who witnessed this scene, and who declared this, with other particulars relative to the course and the issue of the battle of Tricoalum, to the Governor of Goa, was apprehensive that the insolent conqueror would have been provoked

provoked to an act of fatal barbarity. An European officer, in Hyder's service, of the name of Elliot, suffered stripes, by his orders, in the Durbar, for carrying some necessaries to the captive Commander.

The shell of a tent was at last fixed for Colonel Baillie and his officers, but without a bit of straw, or any thing on which they might lie, although repeated application was made for this accommodation, and many of these gentlemen were in danger from their wounds. This tent, it must be observed, at the same time, contained only ten persons; the rest of the prisoners were obliged to remain in the open air. About seven o'clock, towards the evening, Colonel Baillie was visited by Monsieur Goddard, a French officer, who, although in poor circumstances himself, assisted our countrymen to the utmost extent of his power. At ten, some pilaw was sent to the prisoners from the Circar.

Several officers were also carried to Tippoo Saib, who treated them with great humanity. He invited them into his tent, gave them biscuit, and to each five pagodas. One of the gentlemen, Captain Monteith, who was a married man, expressed an earnest desire of sending a letter to his wife at Madras; with which
Tippoo

Tippoo readily complied. Nothing could be more striking, on this sad occasion, than the contrast between the conduct of the father and that of the son.

Sept. 11. Hyder-Ally, on the day after the engagement, moved his army from Damul to Mussalawaulk, where he had left his baggage, with his tents standing, when he marched to attack Colonel Baillie. Some of our wounded officers were carried in palanquins, without any covering, exposed to a sultry sun; and many of them were obliged to walk, subjected to the gross abuse, and even to the blows of their several guards. The moment they arrived at the limits of Hyder's camp, they had a pleasing instance of the superior humanity and courtesy of European officers contrasted with the inhumanity of Hyder's people. Fifteen French officers saluted them with the compliment of the hat, and they found the fly of a marqui with a small tent pitched for their reception. Soon after this Captain Pimoran, a French officer, visited Colonel Baillie, and presenting Mr. Lally's best respects, assured him that this commander had applied to Hyder-Ally for leave to visit him, but that it had been refused. Captain Pimoran brought along with him 300 pagodas, some clothes,

clothes, bread, wine, and two French Surgeons to dress the wounded. Several other French officers too, were very active in administering to the English prisoners the utmost aid and consolation in their power to afford. Hyder sent five hundred rupees, which, as being too small a sum for distribution, the Colonel declined to accept.

On the 12th of September, arrived in Hyder's camp, Lieutenant Bowser and Ensign Dick, with some privates : and, on the same day, Lieutenant Cox, and the Ensigns Maconichy and Wemyss. During the time that these gentlemen remained near the Head Pay-master's tent, the heads of upwards of ten Europeans were brought by different people, who received the promised reward. Lieut. Bowser, who, in the engagement, had received a musquet ball in his leg, after our little army surrendered, received eight wounds with a scymitar. These brought him to the ground, where he lay deprived of all sensation, for several hours. Having received, from some friendly hand, a chatty full of water tinged with blood, he endeavoured to proceed towards Conjeveram : but overcome with fatigue, he was obliged to lie all night in the open air, during which there fell two heavy showers of rain.

In

In the morning of the 11th, he made a second effort to proceed towards Conjeveram; but after walking about a mile, he was met by some of the enemy's horsemen, who asked him who he was? In the hope that they would think him below their notice, he answered that he was a poor soldier, and that he was going to seek some relief under his distresses at Conjeveram. They informed him that that place was in the possession of Hyder, and that he must proceed as a prisoner to his camp, taking charge of him at the same time, and obliging him to walk without any assistance. At eight o'clock, the horsemen delivered him up to two of the enemy's sepoys, who behaved to him with rather more humanity and kindness. They gave him water out of the palms of their hands, placed properly together for that purpose; for by this time he had become so stiff with his wounds, that he could not of himself bend or stoop, even in the smallest degree. Whenever he wanted to reach to any thing, the guard, taking hold of his arm, let him gently down and pulled him up. About twelve o'clock he was equally surprized and overjoyed to come up with a brother officer, Ensign Dick, a quarter-master serjeant of artillery, and two privates. He was now joined to this party, who were nearly in the same situation with himself. The quarter-master serjeant had received so deep a cut across

the back part of his neck, that he was obliged to hold his head in his hands, in order to keep it from falling to a side, all the journey. The least shake or unevenness of the ground made him cry out with pain. He once and again ceased from all attempts to proceed, abandoning himself to the despair of ever being able to accomplish his painful journey, or to prolong his miserable life; but, being encouraged, called on, and conjured by his companions to renew his efforts, he did so, and they were successful. He recovered of his wound, and is now alive; the most striking proof, perhaps, that is to be found of that power or principle of recovery and self-preservation which beneficent Providence has implanted in the constitution of our nature. — As they moved slowly on, they perceived several Europeans lying dead on the road, and naked; others dying, and many calling out in vain for water. To their prisoners, however, who were able to walk, however slowly, the guards administered a little dry rice soaked in water. They were not indulged with water, as they could not stoop to assist themselves, so often as they wished for it. It was often refused to their most earnest entreaties. Nor were they allowed to rest oftener than at the spaces of two or three hundred yards, which appeared to them tedious and painful journeys;
and

and permission to rest a little, even after these, was accounted a great favour.

Between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, this little party arrived in Hyder's camp, where they were obliged, as has been observed, to lie on the bare ground, exposed to the winds and rain all night, although there were empty tents at no greater distance than ten yards. They now met with some assistance from certain sepoys, who had formerly been in our service.

On the 12th, as soon as it was day-light, this little party anxiously requested to be sent to Colonel Baillie, and the other officers, but were told that they must be carried before Hyder. An order for this purpose arrived about ten o'clock ; and on their way to his tent, they were accosted by several Europeans, who had formerly been in our service, but had deserted. These men sympathized with our situation, and insisted on our drinking a little arrack with them, which we did, in the midst of multitudes who crowded around us. They took their leave of their kind entertainers, whom, in the midst of their own distresses, they could not help considering as unfortunate ; but they had not proceeded above an hundred yards before they were ordered to stop. They were at this time so overcome by fatigue, that they laid

themselves down on a bed of sand, almost devoured with flies, and a spectacle to thousands of spectators. At this time Captain Pimoran came up to them, took down their names, expressed the greatest sorrow at their distressful situation, and gave to each of them one shirt, one pair of long drawers, one pocket handkerchief, and to each also a pagoda. He farther gave orders that some victuals should be dressed for them. About twelve o'clock another order arrived for them to proceed to Hyder immediately ; but on their arrival at the Paymaster's tent, which was close to Hyder's, as already mentioned, they were again ordered to stop, and proceed no farther. They were now so exceedingly reduced by their accumulated distresses, that there was not one of them who thought it possible they should live much longer, and who was not convinced that he should very soon die. At this time Lieutenant Bowser saw Dr. Lloyd, whom he had formerly known at Madras, coming out of Hyder's tent. He instantly requested one of the guards to call the Doctor, and, after making himself known to him, begged that he would obtain an order that his small party might be sent to Colonel Baillie and the other officers. With this request the Doctor complied, without the smallest delay. There were some of them so exhausted with want, pain, and fatigue, added to previous loss of blood,

blood, that it was found necessary that they should be carried on the backs of French soldiers.

On the 13th, Kistna-row, Hyder-Ally's Dewan, or Treasurer, brought a thousand rupees, which Colonel Baillie divided in the following manner:—To each Captain thirteen rupees; to the Lieutenants nine: to the Ensigns seven; and to the non-commissioned officers and privates, one rupee each. This officer of Hyder's took a list of our names, and delivered to Colonel Baillie a quantity of silk cloth, palampore, and some pieces of coarse cloth. The Colonel gave to the Captains, Surgeons, and Lieutenants of his Majesty's 73d regiment each a silk cloth; to the subalterns one piece of coarse cloth, with one small palampore; and to each private one piece of cloth. This day Ensign Wemyss died. On this day, also, a soldier brought the names of Captain Ferrier, Lieutenant Wade, and Ensign Moncrieff, written on a piece of an earthen pot or chatty. These poor gentlemen had taken this method of signifying that they were still alive, and of requesting some assistance. Serjeant Macormick, on the day after the engagement, found Lieutenant Wade and Ensign Moncrieff thrown into a bush full of thorns, and so desperately wounded, that they were incapable of administering to themselves.

or to one another, the smallest relief or assistance. The serjeant, not without difficulty, removed these unfortunate gentlemen to the shade of a tree, and having supplied them with a little water, left them to the care of Providence. It was not in his power, nor, alas! in ours, to afford to our friends the smallest aid, or to console them under their sufferings, by any token of our sympathetic sorrow at their extreme distress.

Some trunks of cloth were sent, by orders from Hyder, for the use of the whole of his prisoners. Colonel Baillie presented the commandant of our guard with an hundred rupees. About eleven in the forenoon Kistna-row, Hyder's Treasurer, came and ordered such of us as were capable of walking to stand up. This order was instantly obeyed; and a separation took place. Colonel Baillie, the Captains Baird, Rumley, Lucas, Menteith, and Wragg, with the Lieutenants Lindsey and Frazer, were ordered to remain in the enemy's camp. The officers not wounded, who amounted to the number of twenty-three, were sent to Bangalore; and those who were wounded, of whom there were twenty-seven, to Arnée. The wounded privates were in like manner sent to Arnée, and those not wounded to Bangalore. All this was done so suddenly on the part of Hyder, that we

we had not so much as an opportunity of speaking to each other, and if any one had dared to solicit this privilege, he would undoubtedly have been treated by the guards, who were under the necessity of carrying their master's orders into prompt execution, with great abuse. However, as they could not prevent us from seeing, we beheld our brother sufferers mounted on small horses called tattoos : and soon after this, some doolies were brought for the party destined for Arnée, who were hurried into them with every mark of contempt. These doolies are the most inhuman vehicles in which Europeans were ever placed. The common sort are from three feet and an half to four feet long, and about two feet and an half broad.—They are composed of a frame made of bamboo or common wood, with four posts at the corners, to which the sides and ends are fastened, at the distance of eight inches from the ground. To each of these posts is fixed a straight bamboo, or large pole, by means of which the machine is carried by four coolies or bearers. The frame is lashed together by ropes made of the fibres of the cocoa nut, and sometimes by small rattan canes, which, at the same time that they serve to fasten the machine, supply the place of a seat. The doolies are usually covered over with coarse cotton cloth ; but as ours had no

coverings of any kind, many of our gentlemen suffered very severely.

The poor soldiers, who laboured under every misery, were some of them put into these doolies, and above fifty of them placed on arrack bandiers or carts. It is impossible to describe the inexpressible sufferings of those unfortunate men, desperately wounded, their bodies exposed to a severe sun, placed six or eight of them together on these arrack bandiers, knocking against each other, from the jolting of the machine, and refused even a drop of water. When we had advanced in this painful manner, about four miles from Hyder's camp, we made an halt. A fly of a *marqui* was now pitched, to shelter us from the weather. About eight in the evening there fell an heavy shower of rain, which proved so destructive to some of the soldiers that they died raving mad : for these poor men having neither tent nor covering of any kind, the water penetrated even to the cerebellum, through the fractures of the skull. About twelve o'clock at night a sheep was brought, with some rice, and dressed by our servants.

Doctor Campbell, one of our surgeons, being at the point of death, requested leave to bid his last farewell to his brother, who was with the Bangalore party, encamped at the distance from

from us of about an hundred yards. His request, after a good deal of hesitation, was granted.

Sept. 15. At sun-rise we were ordered to eat some cold rice, and about eight o'clock we moved onward to Scolore; at which place we arrived about five in the afternoon. Captain Ferrier, and several privates, died here, and were thrown carelessly into a hole close by us. The dooley boys, of the hill or cannery cast, during the course of our journey thither, behaved to us in a most barbarous manner, often beating us with sticks, refusing to give us water, and wantonly and cruelly exposing us to the sun. At any time when we were permitted to halt for a little rest and refreshment, if they had an opportunity of setting us down under the shade of a grove or tree, they would give themselves trouble to expose us to suffering, by carrying us about to that side of the grove or tree where we should not enjoy the cooling shade of their leafy branches, but suffer the rage of the noon-day sun, in its utmost rigor.—The men who carried these doolies, as well as some others of the lower casts of people in Hyder's dominions, would frequently revile us in terms not to be repeated. They would tell us, that we should be forced to eat our own dung,* and express their

* It would appear, from the sacred writings of the Old Testament, that this expression of hatred and aversion was, in antient times, common in other parts of the East.

their hopes and confidence, that when we should arrive at the place of destination, Hyder would not fail to put us to death.

Sept. 16. We moved off this day at the same time as yesterday, and reached Arnée (which, with the adjacent country, had taken choul, or come under the protection of Hyder) at three in the afternoon. Here we were crammed together into a filthy dungeon, barely sufficient to receive us. Lieutenant Cotton, just as he entered within the prison dropped down dead. It is probable, that had we not halted at Arnée, the whole of us would have perished. In the evening some rice was sent to us, with a little massal, which is a species of spice, or pepper.

Sept. 17. Our daily allowance at Arnée, was, to each of us one seer of rice, and sometimes a little lean mutton, one spoonful of ghee, a small quantity of curry stuff, half a spoonful of salt, and two or three sticks of firewood.—Our servants were allowed each three cash per day, and one seer of rice, with a little salt. Application was made for a little straw to sleep on, but without success. We were forced to rest on the bare ground, without wine, tea, sugar, or any other comfort or refreshment than has been already specified.

At

At the time of our leaving Hyder's camp, Monsieur Castro, a surgeon, came with two or three rusty instruments, and attended us during our stay at Arnée. Monsieur Castro, it is justice to say, shewed us great humanity and attention. Our only medicine was a composition of wax and oil, which was purchased in Hyder's camp.

Sept. 18. In the evening died Dr. Campbell. The death of this gentleman was a subject of sincere regret to all the prisoners. Application was made to the Keeladar for some cloth for bandages. This necessary article being refused, we were obliged to tear up the piece of coarse cloth we had received as a present from Hyder. Many of us were under the necessity of going, for several days naked, being in possession of only one shirt and trousers, which, having already worn them for six days, we were obliged to get washed. Shoes we had none. We had nothing of any kind to supply the place of either bedding or bed-cloaths; and the rain, falling on us through the crazy roof of our prison, disturbed and annoyed us by night and by day. We were this day visited by an Hungarian serjeant in the service of Hyder. This man, although he was as great a rogue as could be imagined, proved afterwards of very great service to us. After repeated applications to the Keeladar, we at last received, on this day,
five

five old mats, and made a division of them by cutting them in pieces: but they were so bad that we could scarcely use them.

Sept. 19. We applied to the Keeladar, chiefly on account of the wounds that many of us had received in our heads, for a barber. He returned for answer, that if we troubled him any more, he would fend us irons,

Sept. 20. This day was marked by the death of Mr. John Baillie, a cadet.

22. As this was by that of Ensign Dick,

29. And this by that of Lieutenant Cox.

Mr. Baillie, during the course of the preceding night, had fallen into a delirium; and, as we were not allowed any light in our prison, he walked over several of the wounded officers, who in the greatest anguish, cried out in vain for assistance. We had these gentlemen as decently carried out as our situation would allow. However, we learned afterwards, that they were stripped of the piece of cloth which covered them, and thrown into the bed of a river, exposed to jackalls and tygers and other ravenous animals.

Oct. 4. Ensign Gordon, who had now recovered from his wounds, was taken out of prison, and sent to Seringapatam. Lieutenant Mackay received fifty pagodas, sent by our resident at Pondicherry, Mr. Skardon, and conveyed to us by means of our good friend the French doctor. This gentleman, touched with our miserable situation, carried a letter to the humane, the god-like Captain Pimoran, whose name it is impossible to mention without the liveliest emotions of gratitude, admiration, and love, attending his duty in Hyder's army, employed at that time in the siege of Arcott, which is distant from Arcée about eighteen English miles. The goodness of the doctor was the greater that he undertook and performed this friendly journey, notwithstanding the mean insinuations of the Hungarian serjeant abovementioned, who assured him that he would undoubtedly be detected, and dragged to death at an elephant's foot. Captain Pimoran presented his sincere respects, and begged leave to assure us, that he had sent all the ready money in his possession by Monsieur Castro, but that he would on every occasion assist us to the utmost of his power. If we had not been favoured with these supplies from this generous Frenchman, a private friend though a public foe, the greater part of us must have perished through want.

Soon

Soon after this we received the melancholy tidings that Captain Pimoran had fallen before Arcott. An honourable death secured to this generous spirit the glory of a life that was an honour to human nature. But we felt inexpressible regret, that we could no longer indulge the hope of testifying, by some visible token, that inward gratitude and esteem which had been awakened in each of our breasts, by his generous goodness.

About this time, the Doctor, having represented to us the miserable situation of our unfortunate soldiers, we purchased for their relief twenty-seven pieces of cloth : but on applying to the Keeladar for permission to send them, we received no answer to our request. So that the sufferings of the poor soldiers remained unassuaged by the comforts which their friends had provided. Nor was this the only, or the most pressing request that we were under the necessity of making to our enemies. Our place of retirement, which was situated within the walls of our dismal dungeon, became so offensive, that we made the most importunate applications to have it cleared. But no orders were issued for this necessary service by the Keeladar, and none were to be found who would do it voluntarily. —The sufferings that arose from this putrid source,

source, in a sultry climate, to men afflicted and worn down with fluxes; the swarms of odious vermin that assailed our naked and fore bodies, and that, penetrating and nestling in the wounded ear of a certain officer, turned the auricular nerve into an instrument of the most exquisite pain for several nights and days: these cannot be recollected without horror, nor related without disgust. Nor is it worth while, after hinting at such distresses as these, to relate that in the prison of Arnée many of the English officers, on account of the want of servants, were obliged to wash their own pots, to kindle their own fires, and dress their own victuals.

At this period of our Narrative, it may be proper to give the following statement of the different fates that awaited the gentlemen of Colonel Baillie's detachment, in the late unfortunate action near Tacoallum.

Names of Corps.	Killed.	Wounded.	Died of Wounds.
Lieut. Col. Baillie -		I	
Lieut. Col. Fletcher -	I		
Lieut. Frazer, Brigadier Major			
Lieut. Read, Aid de Camp		I	
Lieut. Chace, Brigadier Major	I		
Ensign Burgier, Commissary			
Carry over	2	2	

Names of Corps.	Killed	Wounded	Died of Wounds.
Brought over	2	2	
SURGEONS.			
Mr. Wilfon	I		
Raine - - -		I	
Campbell - - -			I
Ogilvie - - -			
<i>Grenadier Company, 73d Regiment.</i>			
Lieut. John Lindfey		I	
Lieut. Gufin -	I		
Mr. Forbes, Volunteer	I		
<i>Light Infantry, 73d.</i>			
Capt. David Baird -		I	
Lieut. Mackenzie -	I		
Lieut. Melville -		I	
Mr. Hodges, Volunteer			
Mr. Cuthbert, Ditto -		I	
<i>Company's Artillery.</i>			
Capt. Jones - - -			
Lieut. Smith - - -		I	
Lieut. Cox - - -			I
Lieut. Mirton - - -	I		
Mr. Monie, Conductor	I		
<i>Capt. Phillips's European Grenadiers.</i>			
Capt. Phillips - - -	I		
Lieut. Knox - - -			I
Lieut. Maffey - - -		I	
Ensign Clarke - - -	I		
Carry over	10	9	3

Names of Corps.	Killed	Wounded	Lied or Wounds.
Brought over	10	9	3
<i>Capt. Ferrier's European Grenadiers.</i>			
Capt. Ferrier - -			1
Lieut. Wade - -	1		
Lieut. M'Neale - -			
Lieut. Bowler - -		1	
Lieut. Halliburton - -		1	
John Gorie, Volunteer			
John Hope, ditto - -		1	
— Latham, ditto - -			
<i>Sepoy Marksmen.</i>			
Lieut. Muat - -			
<i>Two Companies of European Infantry.</i>			
Capt. Menteith - -		1	
Capt. Wragg - -			
Ensign Galway - -	1		
Lieut. Nafh - -		1	
Lieut. Dring - -			
Mr. Baillie, Volunteer		1	
Lieut. Baillie, Volunteer			
<i>Five Companies of Sepoy Grenadiers.</i>			
Capt. Rumley - -		1	
Ensign Moore - -		1	
Ensign Maconichy - -		1	
Ensign Stringer - -		1	
Ensign Wood - -	1		
Ensign Clarke - -	1		
Carry over	14	19	4

Names of Corps.	Killed	Wounded	Died of Wounds.
Brought over	14	19	4
<i>Five Companies of Sepoy Grenadiers.</i>			
Capt. Gowdie - -		1	
Lieut. Mackay - -		1	
Ensign Picklaw - -		1	
Ensign Wilfon - -		1	
Ensign Gordon - -		1	
Ensign Sheddon -	1		
<i>First Carnatic Battalion.</i>			
Capt. Lucas - -		1	
Lieut. Campbell - -			
Ensign Innis - -		1	
Ensign Macalister - -		1	
Ensign Mac Lane - -	1		
Ensign Lombard - -	1		
Ensign Corner - -			
Ensign Lang - -			
<i>Second Circular Battalion.</i>			
Capt. Powell - -	1		
Lieut. Cotton - -			1
Lieut. Forbes - -			
Lieut. Jurin - -		1	
Ensign Curtis - -	1		
Ensign Hemming - -	1		
Ensign Dawes - -	1		
Ensign Wynn - -	1		
Ensign Dick - -			1
Ensign Forbes - -		1	
Carry over	22	29	6

Names of Corps	Killed	Wounded	Died of Wounds.
Brought over	22	29	6
<i>Second Carnatic Battalion.</i>			
Capt. Geo. Nixon -	I		
Lieut. Butler -			
Lieut. Dalrymple -		I	
Ensign Mackay -		I	
Ensign Boswell -	I		
Ensign Rogers -	I		
Ensign Tomlinson -	I		
Ensign Frank -			
<i>Six Companies of the 7th Carnatic Battalions.</i>			
Capt. Grant -		I	
Ensign White -			
Ensign Mahagan -	I		
Ensign Marshall -	I		
Ensign Macleod -	I		
Total	29	32	6

The officers, including volunteers, were in whole eighty-six. Of these seventy were killed or wounded, and only sixteen escaped unhurt.

Nov. 1. The following gentlemen being recovered of their wounds, were sent off to Seringapatam: Lieutenants Massey, Turin, Chace; Ensigns Wilfon and Stringer. This day we received

ceived accounts of the Pittah of Arcott having surrendered.

Dec. 8. The following gentlemen being recovered of their wounds, were ordered for Seringapatam, and previously to their departure made up a sum of one hundred and fifty pagodas, in bills on Madras, for the French Doctor, their worthy and good friend, who shed tears on their departure — Captain Grant ; the Lieutenants Bowser, Butler, Mackay ; Ensigns Picklaw, Moore, Maconichy, Macalister ; Volunteers Baillie and Hope. Lieutenants Melville, Dalrymple, and Knox, were left at Arnée. — Mr. Knox laboured under a dropsy, nor had the Doctor any instruments to give him relief. — Lieutenant Melville had received a shot in his left arm, which broke and shattered the bone ; and a few instants after, as he was in the act of turning round to speak to some of the soldiers, a ball passed through the same arm, and part of his left breast. Had it not been for the accident of turning round, this ball must inevitably have put an end to his existence. The enemy's cavalry having broke into our ranks, in the confusion and carnage which ensued, the bone of his right arm was cut in two by a sabre, and he was dashed unmercifully on the ground. He was, after this, stripped of all his clothes,
even

even of his shirt, and while he was dragged to a convenient spot for this purpose, his head striking against every stone, and his disjointed arms trailing over the ensanguined soil, he suffered the extremity of pain. As he lay naked, bleeding, and helpless on this spot, a horseman, with wanton cruelty, wounded him in the back with his spear. In this miserable situation he lay for two days and two nights, exposed to the tortures of a burning sun, to the danger of being torn to pieces by beasts of prey, and, what every soldier whose fate it has been to lie wounded on a field of battle knows to be more dreadful than any or all the other circumstances of suffering united, to the want of water. Lieutenant Melville having made repeated efforts to assuage, in some degree, his burning thirst, by means of whatever grass or herbs was within the narrow circumference of his reach, in vain, was reduced, like other men in similar situations of extreme distress, to the necessity of seeking for relief from the moisture of his own body. Had it not been for the humane and most generous attentions of Lieutenant Forbes, who lay by him part of the first night and assisted him, he must in all human probability have perished. He was, at last, on the morning of the third day, picked off the field by some of the enemy, who, without any circumstance of fellow-feeling or

humanity, carried him in a rude and cruel manner to their camp. The recovery of Mr. Melville may be ranked among the most striking proofs of the provision that is made for the preservation of the human frame.

We left Arnée about nine in the morning, penetrated with sorrow at parting from our friends and fellow-sufferers. We were under charge of a Bramin, one Commandant of the troops, consisting of a few firelock men, one hundred and fifty colleries, and a few horsemen. Piats, or small horses, were given for our conveyance. A horse-keeper was allowed to each piat horse, who had a rope fastened to the head stall of the bridle, with positive orders not to quit his station. The whole of us were ordered to move on in a rank entire. We suffered much from this mode of conveyance, having only a pad in the room of a saddle, and no stirrups; crowds of people gazing at us, and many behaving in a most insolent manner. When we arrived on the glacié, we met thirty-two of our unfortunate soldiers hand-cuffed, two and two, barefoot, and almost naked. Every exertion was made on our part, in order to alleviate their distress.

We

We arrived in Poloor about four in the afternoon. Some rice was boiled for us and the soldiers, with a little salt. The rice, after being boiled, was rolled into a ball for the soldiers, about the size of a foot-ball, and each person received his ball. The soldiers, at the different halting places, were kept separate from us. As many of these were not recovered from their wounds, they were allowed, after repeated applications, to attend the surgeons of the country; but under particular restrictions not to ask for news. Many of the soldiers suffered much from the want of shoes. These men not being able to walk, bullocks were provided, on which they were forced to ride, still remaining handcuffed to their comrades. This piece of cruelty we pointed out both to the Bramin and Commandant; but only received for answer, that they had no orders from the Bahauder to take off their irons.—Whenever we approached near a village, tom-toms, a kind of drums, and winding collery horns, advanced in front, that the inhabitants might, by this discordant music, be assembled together to gaze at us, as we passed through. We suffered much, during our march, from the intense heat, as they would not travel in the night, but only in the day time, and that during the hottest part of it. The daily allowance which we received

was

was one small sheep, divided between us and the soldiers, in all forty-one persons, one seer of 2 ⁶/₁₆ rice each, with a little salt. In the villages through which we passed, some of the people would express sentiments of compassion, and suffer us to drink water, not indeed out of their vessels, which would have been pollution, but out of their hands; while others would revile us, and pray that we might be put to the sword without mercy. Such is the extreme difference of natural tempers,

Dec. 18. Arrived at Bangalore, and visited by the Keeladar, who made us many flattering promises, but executed none.

23. About five in the evening arrived at Seringapatam, where we were led in triumph to Hyder's palace, surrounded by crowds of people, till near seven o'clock, during which time our names were taken down in writing by the Keeladar, and then ordered to a small confined prison, where we found Captains Baird, Wragg, Menteith; Lieutenants Lindsey, Massey, Chace, Turin; Ensigns Wilson and Stringer. Our joy on this occasion was great. We were allowed one gold fanam each per day, and a French surgeon to attend us (Monsieur Fortuno). The guards here consisted of two goloks, (civilians who

who acted as field deputies) two havaldars, twelve sepoy, one duffadar, and twelve col-
 leries, a lower class of soldiers. Our servants
 were allowed to attend the Bazaar morning and
 evening, and allowed by the Keeladar to purchase
 one bottle and two thirds of pia arrack, (a liquor
 distilled from the bark of a tree) weekly, for each
 gentleman, the amount of which was one fanam
 and eight dubs. The poor soldiers who accom-
 panied us were sent to a different prison.

Ensign Gordon, who left Arnée the 4th of
 October, was amongst the soldiers here, and in
 irons. Repeated applications were made to the
 Myar, or Town Major, to remove him to us,
 in vain: but at last, on our solemn assurances
 that he was an officer, his irons were taken off.

The following are the stages at which we
 halted, in our journey from Arnée to Seringa-
 patam, with the intermediate distances:

	Cofs	Miles
From Arnée to Poloor*	6	13½
A deserted villa	6	13½
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Carry over	12	27

* This is a very pleasant little village. We were lodged
 in the ruins of an old palace.

Chan-

	Cofs	Miles
Brought over	12	27
Changama -	6	13
Chingerry Pett	6	13½
Matore -	6	13½
Covey Patam *	5	11½
Ria Cotah -	8	20
Taalcondah -	4	10
Uffore †	4	10
Bangalore ‡	10	25
Kingerry Cotah	6	15
Ramgurry -	8	20
Chenapatam §	4	10
Carry over		189
		Che-

* This place is situated in the midst of a beautiful and highly cultivated valley, and within sight of the Kistna Gurry hills. We halted here a whole day, in order to have our clothes washed. The Keeladar, who came and smoked his hooker with us, conversed familiarly, and expressed great compassion for our misfortunes.

† A pleasant little town, surrounded by a strong stone wall, with turrets, and situated in the midst of extensive paddy fields.

‡ This town is five or six miles in circumference, well watered, interspersed with pleasant gardens and groves, and environed by fields and pasture lands of great fertility. It is surrounded by a strong stone wall, and contains a pettah, enclosed within a mud wall.

§ At this place we were lodged under a gateway, on each side of which a gallery was constructed, supported by

OF OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS.

43

		Cots	Miles
Brought over		79	189
Guutall †	-	7	17 $\frac{1}{2}$
Seringapatam	-	8	20
		<hr/> 94	<hr/> 226 $\frac{1}{2}$

Each cot is 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ English Miles.

Eng. Miles.

Dec. 23. Repeated applications have been made to the Keeladar for cots to sleep on, but without success. We are therefore necessitated to make use of straw. The Keeladar will not even allow the door of the prison to be kept open during the course of the day, in order to admit a little air, although we have often told him of the dangerous consequences to be apprehended from its exclusion, and also informed him

him

two or three pillars. The soldiers were placed in one of these galleries, and the officers in another; which afforded a scene not more singular than satisfactory. For here we had an opportunity of conversing with the poor soldiers, as well as with Ensign Gordon, and indulging our curiosity, by putting a thousand questions concerning their fate, and that of others. At parting, we had the pleasure of contributing to their relief and comfort, by furnishing them with a few cloaths and some tobacco.

† At Guutall we were lodged in a small Choultry. Here we were permitted to go on the ramparts, and to survey the country, which is very rich, highly cultivated, full of cocoa-nut trees, groves, fields abounding with grain, and well built and populous villages.

him that several gentlemen were very much indisposed. To all our representations and supplications we received for answer, that if any of us died, they would carry us out lashed to a bamboo, for the prey of the tygers and jackalls.

1781.—Jan. 19. An head Bramin, belonging to the Circar, ordered us all to turn out of our births, and, after assembling us near his person, attempted to engage us in the service of Hyder, with the flattering promises of great pay, horses, palanquins, women, slaves, &c. On our refusing to take service, he said, we were fine men, and that it grieved him to see us in that situation. He assured us, that when he invited us to take service, it was not understood that we should fight against our country; and that we were to do nothing but walk about at our pleasure.

22. Received the following letter, brought in privately :

To Captain Wragg.

“ Dear Friend,

“ I Shall never forget you at Combitoro.

“ You was my Ensign; you behaved yourself
“ to the Company honourably. I am sorry to

“ hear

“ hear of your being prisoner. Pray be so good
“ as to take in patience for two men, being
“ twelve years prisoners in Seringapatam. The
“ two men are Samuel Spencer and John Wil-
“ ton, both London born. We were taken at
“ Errod, in 1768. I hope your honour will be
“ so good as to acquaint the Commander of
“ Madras about us two captives, if God gives
“ liberty for your honours to return back.

(Signed)

“ SAMUEL SPENCER,

“ JOHN WILTON.”

These two unfortunate men, as we learned afterwards, are by trade armourers. They have each of them five gold fanams a day, with two drams of arrack : but they have guards over them, and appear quite dejected. They are allowed to dress in the European style, but are very dirty.

Arrived Captain Menteith's servant from Arnéc, and informed us of the fall of Fort Gingee, and the death of Lieutenant Knox.

29. Raised by subscription, and sent to Ensign Gordon, eight and a half pagodas.

Arrived

Arrived this afternoon, Captain Lucas and Ensign Macaulay; the latter taken at Gingee.

March 8. Arrived Lieutenant Colonel Bailie, Captain Rumley, and Lieutenant Frazer: the two first of these gentlemen in irons, as they also had been during their journey from Arcot to this place, which is upwards of two hundred and forty English miles; they were lodged in a veranda, an open gallery, opposite to our prison, at the distance of about two hundred yards. Arrived at the same time Mr. Skardon, resident at Pondicherry, Mr. Brunton, late an Ensign in the Company's service, and a Mr. Mac Neal, mate of a country ship: the two last sent amongst the foldiers, and Mr. Skardon to our prison, with the daily allowance of fix cash, one sear of rice, half a sear of doll, and a little ghee: this allowance was poor indeed, but as we were on every occasion ready with our small pittance to assist our brother sufferers, we made a monthly subscription in order to put him on a level with us.

28. Visited by the Keeladar, who behaved to us in a most contemptuous manner, refusing to speak but through an interpreter. He was very particular in examining our irons.

29. Ordered to be mustered three times a day.

May 3. Visited by a black Commandant, who played a game at chess with Captain Lucas : this game was brought from India into Europe. In India there are three kinds of chess : two of these are much more complex than the game of that name played in Europe. In one of them, the men, or figures, amount to sixty ; and the movements are proportionably various. It very seldom happens that an European is fit to contend with a native of India, whether Persee, Gentoo, or Mussulman. Captain Lucas was highly honoured by the Black men, on account of his skill in chess.

4. Several letters taken by the French doctor's servant for our friends in the Carnatic, requesting a supply of money, and to know if there was any prospect of peace.

10. The whole of us (except Captain Baird of the 73d) put in heavy irons ; and the French surgeon ordered not to attend us. Each pair of irons was from eight to nine pound weight. This was the commencement of a deliberate system, as afterwards more fully appeared, for cutting us off !—This a melancholy day.

20. Arrived Lieutenant Coke, and put in irons. He was taken at Pandanalore, in the Tanjore country.

24. Lieutenant Turin's irons taken off, on account of a wound in his thigh.

June 4. In honour of his Majesty's birthday, we had for dinner fowl, cutlets, and a flour pudding, and drank his health in a chatty of sherbet.

Aug. 6. Arrived prisoners, five Europeans, with a number of Carnatic slave boys and girls torn from our country.

Sept. 7. Mr. Christie, serjeant of the Bengal detachment, arrived this afternoon. He belonged to Colonel Pearce's detachment, and was taken prisoner near Pulicat the 3d of August. Mr. Christie, when it was discovered that he was not an officer, was on the 9th sent among the soldiers. Favourable accounts received at this time of the spirited exertions of Mr. Hastings diffuse a general joy throughout the prison.

10. Several gentlemen's legs are found to be very much swelled on account of the weight of their irons. Repeated applications to the Keeladar to have them taken off, but without success.

18. A grand Gentoo feast, at which the King of Mysore was present, a lad about twelve years of age. This royal prisoner is allowed to appear in public only at this particular time. We were allowed, as a very particular favour, to indulge our curiosity with a sight of his Majesty.

Oct. 4. A sepoy of our guard informs us, that sixteen soldiers had been taken out of one of the prisons in Seringapatam and circumcised, and that they intended to remove some of us for the same purpose.

28. This evening we saw the Europeans at exercise, and dressed in the Mahomedan fashion, corresponding in number with the sepoy's information.

Our servants, and those who attended the soldiers, met together every day, in order to receive their daily allowance of rice. Hence we had an opportunity of corresponding with our fellow-captives in the different prisons by means of a rice cake, or hopper, and a cheroot or fagar, which is some leaves of tobacco rolled up in the form of a tube so as to be smoked without the aid of a pipe or any other instrument. One would ask another if he would eat a bit of hopper. The person who offered this refreshment took care to give that part of the cake which

contained the letter.---In like manner one would ask another for a sagar : and the other, understanding the meaning of the request, would give him what he wanted, if any intelligence was to be communicated : if not, he would perhaps say that he had none. In this manner we had an opportunity of interchanging sentiments, of condoling with one another, and of contributing what little was in our power to the relief of those who were in the greatest want or distress. The consolation we felt in this intercourse of sympathetic affection induced us even to encounter the danger of death ; for this most assuredly would have been our lot if our correspondence had been discovered.

In one or other of the conveyances just described, received the following letter from Serjeant Hollingsworth.

“ THIS morning I was informed of your being
“ desirous to know in what manner the sixteen
“ Europeans were separated from us. On the
“ 18th of September the head Myar with a Bra-
“ min came to our prison and ordered the Ser-
“ jeant to call in the men, which was immediately
“ done without any suspicion, and the above
“ Myar and Bramin singled out sixteen of the
“ youngest, knocked off their irons, and march-
“ ed them to the Keeladar, and then asked if
“ they

“ they would take service ; when they all declared they would sooner die than be bound to the service of a tyrant. At sun-set they were conducted, one by one, to a small apartment, where an operator attended, with six caffres to hold them while they were circumcised.----
“ This was affirmed by them to Ensign Brunton.”

Received the following letter, addressed to Captain Lucas and the officers in our prison, from Serjeant Dempster of the Bengal artillery, who voluntarily entered into the service of Hyder, and who had once on a former occasion deserted from Colonel Pearce's detachment :

“ Sir,

“ Your servants casting an eye to one of us some time ago, gives us reason to think that you would be desirous to know something of our present unheard-of and unfortunate situation ; not to be paralleled perhaps in the history or annals of any nation. On Wednesday the 19th of September the Bramin and Myar came to our prison, and after falling in the men, he selected sixteen from the rest, smiths being prepared to knock off their irons, without giving us the smallest idea of what was to ensue, and conducted us to the kitchen, where they informed us upon what account we were released, and in a very flattering

ing manner requested of us to take service. All their promises and tenders were rejected with disdain.---They then changed their accent, and threatened us in the severest manner. We were then conducted to a large square, the repository or seminary of those Carnatic boys that had been brought into slavery, whom you see every night at exercise. Upon our arrival there, how great was our surprise to find two English lads amongst those boys, who had been circumcised three months before our arrival, one of whom is a Mr. Clarke, who had been an Ensign in the 2d battalion, 2d regiment; the other a private in the same regiment. They informed us immediately that we should be circumcised.---They had scarce finished telling us this, when the guard came in, accompanied by a barber.* You, Sir, who have delicate feelings, will conceive what our situation was, dragged to what every Christian in the universe utterly abhors, and surrounded by enemies whose very souls are many thousand times blacker than their visage. After some resistance on the part of every one of us, we were obliged at last to sit down and be shaved, after which we remained in the most cruel uncertainty for three or four hours,

* The Mahomedans are always shaved all over before circumcision.

“ hours, when our ill-favoured guard brought us
 “ a doze of * majum each and obliged us to
 “ take it. It wrought differently. Some were
 “ insensible : others were not. A little after
 “ fun-fet, a black surgeon, with thirty or forty
 “ caffres, seized and held us while the operation
 “ was performed. We remained under cure for
 “ a month, upon six cash per day, with mutton,
 “ rice, &c. The 30th of October, we were
 “ conducted to the kutcheree, and there ex-
 “ amined if we would take those Carnatic slave
 “ boys and learn them their discipline, for which
 “ we should receive each of us one gold fanam
 “ per day, with provisions and cloaths ; which
 “ we hope, in our present situation, you will not
 “ construe into any disaffection to our country
 “ or officers, it being all force and constraint.

“ However, actuated by lively, and at the
 “ same time pungent sorrow, that you in your
 “ present distressed situation, should be a me-
 “ lancholy witness of those men, who were so
 “ lately under your command, whose indul-
 “ gence and paternal care, particularly on the
 “ day of action, was second to that of none ;
 “ we humbly make bold to assure you, that
 “ scarce filial duty can be exceeded on our part,

D 3

“ every

* A stupifying drug.

“ every man in the other prison and here, being
“ at any time ready to lay down their lives to
“ rescue you from the smallest harm. Our
“ fondness was the reason of our running this
“ hazard in writing, and most heartily and fin-
“ cerely wishing to see you shortly released, and
“ in a way of releasing us unfortunate victims
“ from the chains of this barbarian.

(Signed)

“ JOHN MAXWELL DEMPSTER,

“ Once an Ensign in his Majesty's 19th
“ regiment of foot, and late a Serjeant in
“ the Bengal artillery.”

30. Duncan Macintosh and Donald Stewart, privates, both of the 73d regiment, were forcibly taken out and circumcised.

This day Captain Wragg received the following letter :

“ Sir,

“ AFTER the many repeated favours I have
“ received at your hands, I think it my duty to
“ acquaint you of my present situation ; that I
“ am unfortunately one of the men who were
“ taken out, and underwent the dreadful pain
“ of circumcision.

(Signed)

“ BENTALL WOODLEY.”

Nov.

Nov. 10. Captain Baird put in irons.

11. A report prevails that our correspondence with the different prisons is discovered, which gives the greatest alarm. We proceed instantly to destroy or to conceal papers, knives, scissars, razors, &c. This journal, which was written within a very small compass, on a slip of Indian paper, in such an hand as that in which innocent idlers write out the Lord's prayer within the circumference of a halfpenny, was concealed on this, as on other occasions of alarm, which were not unfrequent, in a small hole dug deep in the earthen floor of our prison, carefully filled up and beaten into a perfect equality and resemblance of the contiguous surface.

Having made repeated application for medicines for the sick, we were informed that the strictest orders had been issued, that no medicines should be administered to us by any person, under the pain of the most severe and shocking mutilation. We had not come there to live, we were told; and that nothing could be more acceptable to the Nabob than the news of our death. These melancholy tidings had a visible effect on the minds of the gentlemen who were indisposed. Cut off from all hope of relief, but that alone which might possibly arise from

the unassisted efforts of nature, they began to droop and despond exceedingly. We repeated and pressed our solicitations for medicines to no purpose. The sentries to whom we applied, declared, that they would willingly bring in some, if they could do it with safety ; but that their orders were express, and that their ears, noses, and right hands, must pay the forfeiture of disobedience.

Received the following letter from Ensign Clarke :

“ Gentlemen,

“ I WAS this day, to my great surprize, accosted by one of your servants, who informed me, calling me by name, that the officers in general were surprized at having received no letter from me in particular. I can only say, that the privates in general were unwilling to deliver any letter from me, without seeing the contents. I might complain of the manner they have behaved some time since their arrival here ; which has indeed been such, as shewed they were happy to have it in their power to insult any one who had been of a rank superior to themselves with impunity. However, it is wrong to mention any thing of
“ this

“ this kind, as I am at present in a situation so
“ very disagreeable in many respects, that any
“ one thing is scarce worth mentioning, even
“ were it likely, on my complaints, to be reme-
“ died.

“ I arrived at Madras in January, 1781, in a
“ style superior to that of the rest of the cadets
“ in general, having been two years an Ensign
“ and Lieutenant in the militia, and of course
“ being used to a very expensive way of living,
“ together with a carelessness for money, and
“ lending to too many who had no prospect
“ of being able to pay me. Notwithstanding
“ this, I was largely supplied by General Mun-
“ ro, to whom I was particularly recommended,
“ and at whose house I lived at Madras, as well
“ as to Mr. Mawbrey, who was very much my
“ friend, and two or three others. I soon fell
“ into debt to such a degree, as obliged me to
“ think of going to camp, or some where else,
“ in order to get out of the reach of the Mayor’s
“ Court : for which purpose I applied to the
“ Governor, who told me, that as soon as a ship
“ sailed for Cuddalore, where our army then
“ lay, I might go. But as there was danger in
“ waiting so long, I set off for camp on horse-
“ back, leaving directions with a boy, to send
“ my things as soon as possible. I arrived safe
“ at

" at Pondicherry, where, when at dinner at a
 " French tavern, I was made prisoner, and that
 " evening sent to Meer Saib's, one of Hyder's
 " Generals, camp, since killed. Next morning,
 " after I arrived at Pondicherry, I was offered
 " three hundred rupees per month, and again at
 " Meer Saib's camp, if I would take service,
 " which I again and again refused. I staid a
 " short time in the camp of Meer Saib, and was
 " afterwards sent under a guard of two haval-
 " dars and six sepoy's to Hyder's camp, then ly-
 " ing near Tanjore, commanded by Colonel
 " Braithwaite. Two days after my arrival, I
 " was taken before the Nabob, who asked me
 " the usual questions ; to all which I professed
 " ignorance, alledging, that my short stay at
 " Madras, and my station, I having been ap-
 " pointed Ensign in the 2d battalion of 2d regi-
 " ment, commanded by Major Hopkins, pre-
 " vented my having any insight into the manage-
 " ment of affairs at Madras. The next day we
 " marched to Trichinopoly, where I understood
 " he was to lay for some time. In a few days
 " after, good God ! what was my surprize, to
 " be sent for by the commandant of the batta-
 " lion, with which I was confined, and then in-
 " formed it was Hyder's desire that I should em-
 " brace Mahomedanism. I refused, notwith-
 " standing the most dreadful threats, and most
 " alluring

“alluring promises, to consent to a thing so
“much my abhorrence. The next day, my
“usual allowance of rice was brought; but on
“asking for the three pice, my daily pittance, I
“was informed it was stopped, till I agreed to
“the proposal of yesterday, of becoming a pro-
“felyte. I was a little shocked, but resolved
“to persevere, till some relief or other should
“come. On the second day after this, I re-
“ceived no rice at all, nor the two next days.
“Being now almost worn out, not having tasted
“any food, except a little rice which the sepoys
“afforded, I with my tongue consented to a
“thing which my heart abhorred. On this I
“received my former allowance, and what had
“been stopped the several days foregoing. I
“shortly after marched to Seringapatam, in the
“most horrid despondence of mind. On my
“arrival here, I was questioned with regard to
“my knowledge of the exercise, which I said I
“knew nothing of: but on the appearance of
“a chaubuc, or horsewhip, I soon went through
“the manual to the satisfaction of the two My-
“ars. I was then questioned with regard to my
“having consented to embrace their damned
“religion, which I denied. However, I was
“soon, from the second appearance of the chau-
“buc and the recollection of former usage, in-
“duced to speak my consent, though on my ar-
“rival

" rival at the boys you daily see, and being asked
 " if I would teach them your exercise, I refused,
 " saying, I had refused to take service, or be-
 " come a Mussulman, and that I would rather
 " do both, or even die, than teach others to
 " fight against my country, which in my idea
 " was worse than either. I was then removed
 " to the prison where I now am, and found a
 " European of the name of Smith, of the 2d
 " battalion 2d regiment, in as miserable a situ-
 " ation as any to which a man could be reduced
 " by vermin, dirty cloaths, bed, &c. The se-
 " cond night after my arrival, I was made a
 X " Mussulman. About three months after my ar-
 " rival, I was very much surprized one morn-
 " ning to see a set of young men very cleanly
 " dressed, brought for the same dreadful ope-
 " ration of which I had lately recovered. That
 " night they were circumcised after the usual
 " dose of majum had been administered: what
 " ensued with regard to them you have received
 " from them before. I had forgot to mention,
 " that at first the usual allowance of mutton,
 " ghee, &c. was very great, but that we had
 " only three cash per day. However, on their
 " arrival we had six, and afterwards one gold
 " fanam.

X *Sliding off the forehead, no more makes
 a Mussulman, than it makes " I have
 a Jew of Him. He may be a good
 Christian without a forehead: and a
 very bad Christian with one.*

“ I have done all in my power to prevail on
“ them to refuse going to exercise. Though I
“ was tied up twice to be flogged, I would not
“ go on any account. The usage of the privates
“ towards me has been most rascally, which, to-
“ gether with other things, makes it my daily
“ wish to die, and has almost tempted me more
“ than once to lay violent hands on myself. I
“ hope soon, however, and have very good
“ reason to expect, that in a short time the ar-
“ rival of our army will at once put an end to
“ our confinement and Mahomedanism. My
“ having confessed many things against myself,
“ which otherwise could never have appeared,
“ is a sufficient proof that I scorn to palliate
“ any part of my offence or misconduct by a lie.

“ I am, my dear brother officers, if my folly
“ has not forfeited my right to call you by so
“ dear a name, your affectionate sufferer,

“ HENRY GEORGE JAMES JENNINGS CLARKE.”

Visited by a head man, or man of consequence
from the Durbar, who enquired very affec-
tionately after our health, and if we were in want
of any thing. He took his leave with great
promises of friendship ; but he executed none.

Received

Received a chit, or note, from Colonel Baillie, offering us two hundred and fifty gold fanams.

The cash received from head quarters (so we called Colonel Baillie's prison) when each gentleman received ten fanams.

1782.—Jan. 4. Arrived prisoners, three Europeans, with a number of Carnatic children.

5. Fourteen Europeans taken out and circumcised.

6. A Circar Bramin visited us, and in a very peremptory manner ordered us to fall in ; and we had reason to suspect he came to fingle some of us out for his diabolical purpose.

18. Serjeant Higgins, of Captain Powell's battalion, voluntarily took service. This he did with an intention, which he afterwards found means of carrying into effect, to make his escape to his wife, whom he had lately married.

Received a letter from Ensigns Brunton and Gordon, informing us, that they are threatened by the Bramin with being made Muffulmen, and that they intend some of us for the same purpose.

26. Ensigns

26. Ensigns Brunton and Gordon, with one hundred foldiers, removed to Shittle-Droog: the foldiers hand-cuffed, two and two.

27. Very much alarmed by the appearance of a Circar Bramin, who ordered the whole of us to turn out. His orders being complied with, he looked stedfastly at six of the stoutest, and then said to a man who stood near him, these six will do. The six were, Captains Baird and Wragg; Lieutenants Lindsey, Bowser, Coke; and Ensign Macalister.

Feb. 24. Purfa Rama, Colonel Baillie's boy, was detected in carrying contraband goods to his master; the boy was put in irons and removed to the foldiers.

28. A number of sepoy, who were taken prisoners in a sally at Trichinopoly, and sent here, have, on account of their cruel treatment, taken service. The few who have not consented, are chained two and two, with the daily allowance of one sear of raggee (a poor small grain) and three cash.

March 17. Colonel Baillie, Captain Rumley, and Lieutenant Frazer's irons taken off.

18. A corps of Carnatic slaves, taken since the commencement of the war, and disciplined
by

by Serjeant Dempster, with the other European Mussulmen, marched to join an army to be led against Calicut, where we had some troops.

Abdiel Wahab (Mahomed-Ally's brother) who was taken prisoner at Chitteput, and sent prisoner here, allowed for himself and family, consisting of seventy persons, one thousand rupees per month ; his eldest son remains at Arcot with Hyder.

Ensign Macaulay sent his shoe buckles to the Keeladar, in order to obtain his leave to dispose of them, that he might raise a few fanams. The buckles detained by the Keeladar.

26. Arrived prisoners this evening a number of Europeans, and lodged in a veranda near our prison. Their number, rank, and the place where they were taken, we have not been able to learn.

Visited by the Myar, who, after reconnoitring our prison, ordered the cook-room to be cleaned out, for the unfortunate people who arrived yesterday. We hear the sound of the armourers employed in putting on their irons. Various are our conjectures where they have been taken. However, we at present flatter ourselves that they may only be the officers separated from us in Hyder's camp, and sent to Bangalore.

Two

Two of our servants removed to Colonel Baillie. A letter sent to the soldiers.

Abdiel Wahab sent us word, that Hyder meant to force Colonel Baillie, and the rest of the officers, to enter into his service.

The prisoners that had been lodged in the veranda were brought in here this evening : seventeen European officers, one surgeon, and one black commandant. They are the officers of Colonel Braithwaite's detachment, and fell into the hands of Tippoo Saib, in the Tanjore country, the 18th of February, 1782, about forty miles from Tanjore. During the time they were with Tippoo Saib, he paid them every attention that was necessary. He not only furnished them with cloaths and money, but at the same time gave strict orders to all his Keeladars to be attentive to them during their march to Hyder's camp, who was then lying at Conjevaram. But on their arrival at this place, their money, and every other little thing they had, was taken from them ; and they were told, that if they concealed the most trifling article, their nose and ears would be cut off. The next day, a few piah horses were provided for their journey ; but many of them were obliged to walk the whole way, with the daily allowance of six or seven sears of rice, with a little salt, amongst the

E whole

whole. Colonel Braithwaite and Ensign Holmes remain in Hyder's camp. We are informed that our army is lying near Madras, for want of carriage bullocks, and that it was believed a French fleet had passed Pulicat.

These circumstances aggravated the melancholy gloom that had long hung over the place of our confinement.

The following is a list of the killed and wounded of Colonel Braithwaite's detachment, taken by Tippoo Saib, on the 18th of February, 1782.

Names.	Killed.	Wounded.
Colonel Braithwaite -		1
Captain Judson -		
Lieut. Lind -		
Eastland -		
Gillon -		1
Sampson -		1
Cameron -		1
Ensign Graham -		1
Loy -		1
Gahagan -		
Kennet -		1
Macaulay -		
Thewlis -		1
Fenwick -		
Holmes -		1
Carry over		9
	1	Ensign

Names.	Killed.	Wounded.
Brought over		9
Ensign Haywood		1
Stewart	1	
Mr. White, surgeon		
Lieut. Bowles	} Nabob's Service.	
Latcliff		
Clowman		1
	1	11

April 9. Captain Baird's irons taken off, on account of sickness.

Arrived prisoner, one European officer ; but no further account.

10. Lieutenant Lind, at the point of death, is allowed, with the utmost difficulty, to have his irons taken off.

12. Lieutenant Coke's irons were taken off, by means of a bribe to the Verduvalla, a military officer non-commissioned, about the rank of a Serjeant-major.

15. The dead body of Lieutenant Lind, who died yesterday, lashed to a bamboo, was

E 2 • carried

carried out on the shoulders of three men. We all of us stood around the body of our departed friend, while Mr. Skardon read the funeral service.

May 9. Visited by the Myar, who enquired in a most pressing manner, if there were any carpenters or smiths amongst us. We replied, that we were all gentlemen. He did not seem satisfied with this answer; but desired the Commandant, Sid Abrim, to make particular enquiry, and inform him the next visit he should make, as the Keeladar meant to take some of us out.

15. An order arrives from Hyder for our servants to discontinue going to the Bazar. Henceforth our guards are our market-men, who cheat us most unmercifully.

31. Ensign Graham's irons taken off, on account of sickness.

June 4. In honour of his Majesty's birthday, we have celebrated it with a pilaw, and drank his health in sherbet.

17. Visited by the Myar. He enquired for a cavalry officer of the name of Galeet, who, he said, belonged to Colonel Baillie's detachment. There was no such person.

19. Arrived prisoners, fourteen European children, eight boys and six girls. It is reported that they were taken at Cuddalore.

22. Mr. Hope's irons taken off, on account of sickness.

28. Captain Lucas and Ensign Maconichy's irons taken off, on account of sickness.

Lieutenant Gillon, and Ensigns Thewlis and Latcliff are put in irons.

29. Repeated applications have been made to the Keeladar for medicine, and for the French Doctor to attend those gentlemen who are at present in a dangerous way : but the cruel tyrant will neither order nor allow the smallest assistance. Those who are fortunate enough to enjoy a good state of health attend the sick in the night.

July 5. At half past eight, P. M. died Captain Lucas, brother to the celebrated patriot of that name in England. The Captain's death was bitterly lamented by the whole prison. He was distinguished by good natural talents as well as acquired accomplishments. In his manners he was unassuming, amiable, and engaging : and

the cheerfulness and vivacity of his temper, which were expressed in lively songs and facetious sallies, scattered frequent rays of mirth on our gloomy mansion.

7. At three o'clock, A. M. died Mr. Hope, a Cadet in the Company's service.

9. About twelve, A. M. died Ensign Mac-nichy.

As Mr. White, Colonel Braithwaite's Surgeon, was unacquainted with the simples and compositions used as medicines in this country, and was deprived of his own chest of medicines, the arrival of that gentleman amongst us, (against whose professional abilities this ought not certainly to be considered, and is not intended, as any insinuation) in the character of a fellow-prisoner, did not avail us. We therefore continued to be our own physicians, and to use those medicines, with whose powers several of us had become acquainted in the course of a long residence, in various stations and situations in India. The natives of this country, in which nature is very powerful and luxuriant, and where maxims and observations are accumulated and handed down from generation to generation, from very remote antiquity, are undoubtedly acquainted with

with many medicinal properties of herbs and fruits, and other simples, unknown to European nations. It is generally known, that the practice of inoculating for the small-pox is common in all Asiatic countries. But there is an art in Hindostan, not yet known in Europe, by which the women effectually prevent all traces of the small-pox on the faces of their little ones. This preservative is composed of a salve made of certain Indian herbs, and a certain kind of oil, which they apply the moment the poek begins to blacken. It does not appear, that any of the Company's Surgeons have ever enquired, or at least enquired with success, into the nature of this preparation. That the Hindoos, however, know how to save their skins from the ravages of the small-pox, is a fact which cannot be doubted. On the subject of Hindoo surgery and physic, another well-attested fact may be mentioned, which is attended with the happiest effects. When any person happens to receive a bruise or wound in any part of his body, by a fall or blow, or otherwise, those who are nearest to him, presently strip off the greater part of his cloaths, and, with the palms of their hands, gently rub the afflicted part, or if that is not to be touched, the parts nearest to it ; and proceeding from that spot, rub over, with greater force, the whole of the body. This good office is ge-

nerally performed by the women, who are indeed the surgeons and physicians of this country, and who handle their patients with all the easy address of the most experienced member of the faculty in Europe.

It was from the natives of India, that the English, at Madras, learned the qualities of the junglicarandee, or what are commonly called by our soldiers Jack Spratt's Nuts, three of which will operate as an emetic, with very salutary effects. Cassia, jaggeree, and tamarinds, were the *Materia Medica* of our cathartics. These materials, with some quicksilver, which we formed into pills and ointments, we were obliged to introduce by stealth, by means of handsome rewards to individuals belonging to our guards; for, as has already been observed, all medicines were prohibited by the Keeladar, under the severest threats.

13. Arrived prisoners, five hundred Carnatic boys, in order to be made slaves, and to be entered into Hyder's slave battalions. We hear the French have taken some of our ships, and given up the prisoners to Hyder.

26. Lieutenant Sampson put in irons.

A chit,

A chit, or note, is received from Colonel Baillie, requesting some mercurial pills. He says, they have not the smallest idea, why their irons were taken off. The pills sent.


30. Arrived prisoners, three European officers, two privates, as also a mate of a country ship.

Aug. 10. One of our officers struck by a centinel, for attempting to look out at the prison door.

13. Lieutenant Coke and Ensign Graham put in irons.

Lieutenant Lindsey's irons taken off, on account of sickness.

The French, we hear from every quarter, have made over three hundred seamen, and others, whom they had taken prisoners, to Hyder; and that the French Admiral received from Hyder, on that account, fifty thousand rupees. This was publicly affirmed at the Keeladar's Durbar; but it is given merely as a report.



Sept.

Sept. 22. We are informed that Colonel Baillie is in a dangerous way ; yet that the Keeladar will not allow him a physician to attend him, nor even assist him with medicines, although many applications have been made to him for that purpose.

Arrived prisoners, three hundred Carnatic boys.

Oct. 13. The whole of us have offered one hundred and twenty thousand rupees for our enlargement ; and not to serve against Hyder during the war. No answer.

18. Arrived prisoners, seven Europeans.

26. A letter taken charge of by one of our guard, to the soldiers prison, with a promise, if an answer is received by us, to give him three pagodas. Subscribed one fanam each for that purpose.

30. Arrived forty Europeans, part of those men that were given up by the French. They have been circumcised.

Nov. 2. Arrived prisoners, eight hundred Carnatic boys and girls.

10. A sepoy has undertaken to carry a letter to the circumcised Europeans.

13. Received the melancholy news of Colonel Baillie's death.

This melancholy event excited painful reflections on the uncertainty of prosperity and of fame, both of which are greatly under the controul of fortune. Colonel Baillie possessed great vigour both of body and mind, being of a middling stature, well and firmly made, and animated on all occasions, with calm and steady resolution. Before the unfortunate day that consigned him to a confinement, from which he was destined never to escape, he uniformly bore the character of an officer enterprizing, brave, and judicious. As his merit and rank had rendered him an object of terror to the conqueror before he fell into his hands, so he became an object of barbarous resentment afterwards, and was treated accordingly, with unusual and marked severity. In the enemy's camp, he was separated from his fellow-prisoners, the Captains Rumley and Frazer, and thrown into irons even on his journey to Seringapatam from Arcot. On his arrival, on his way to the capital of Hyder, at Bangalore, five guns were fired in order to assemble the people to insult his misfortunes.

And

And during the whole course of his illness, he received not the least comfort or assistance from the advice of any physician.

Arrived prisoners, one European, with three hundred Carnatic boys.

Received the following from Lieutenants Speediman and Rutledge.

“ WE were yesterday agreeably surpris’d by
“ receiving a letter from you, which has been
“ our constant wish since we have been here, and
“ are extremely obliged to you for the trouble
“ you undoubtedly must have had in forwarding
“ it, having made many attempts of that kind
“ ourselves, but never could succeed—but par-
“ ticularly for the concern you feel on our ac-
“ count, and the promises you make us of re-
“ presenting our situation to those in whose
“ power it will be to extricate us out of this af-
“ flicting situation.

“ You have requested us to relate to you the
“ particulars of our ill fortune, and also to an-
“ swer some questions, which you have set down,
“ both of which we will readily comply with,
“ as far as lies in our power. We are sorry we
“ cannot give you as satisfactory an account as
“ pro-

“ probably you might expect, being wounded in
“ January last, and left in Vellore : but what
“ news we send is what we got from Ensign
“ Byrne, who came up to Vellore in June, with
“ one company of sepoy, three three-pounders,
“ and a good many polygars, with provisions for
“ the garrison ; and we, being anxious to join
“ the army, left Vellore to go back with him :
“ but we had not quitted the place above eigh-
“ teen hours, when Tippoo Saib’s whole force
“ came down upon us. We fought them for
“ some time : then the polygars left the Com-
“ pany’s troops in a mob, with what intention
“ God knows ; but Tippoo’s troops cut in
“ among them. What escaped the sword were
“ made prisoners. In this situation, deserted
“ by those people, most of our sepoy being
“ wounded, and our ammunition nearly expend-
“ ed, we hoisted a white handkerchief for quar-
“ ter, which they granted immediately, and we
“ were made prisoners by a French officer. Byrne
“ was made prisoner by a black Commandant.
“ While we remained in Tippoo’s camp, we
“ were very well used ; but when we arrived at
“ his father’s we had reason to repent the ex-
“ change, receiving only a measure of rice and
“ one pice a day. We however continued with
him five days, the last of which, in the evening,
“ we were sent for by Hyder’s Dewan, who or-
“ dered Mr. Byrne only in irons, but both of us
“ to

“ be put in with a parcel of small boys, along
“ with whom we found Serjeant-major Groves,
“ of Colonel Braithwaite’s detachment. Next
“ morning, about two o’clock we marched for
“ Seringapatam. After four or five days march
“ we were overtaken by Byrne, and Lieutenant
“ Crewitzer of the cavalry, who, with a troop
“ belonging to the grand guard near Arnée,
“ were cut off, which is probably what has been
“ represented to you as a regiment of cavalry,
“ there having been no other accident of the
“ kind. We were a good deal surpris’d to
“ find that Byrne and we were bound for diffe-
“ rent places ; but never guess’d their horrid
“ intentions with regard to us, until our arrival
“ at Seringapatam, when, instead of being put
“ amongst you, we were march’d with the boys
“ into a large square building, about a mile east-
“ ward of the Fort, in the new village of Gun-
“ jam Pett, where we found nine Europeans,
“ and were rendered almost speechless when
“ they told us, that they were all made Mufful-
“ men against their inclinations, and that it was
“ most probable we should share the same fate :
“ we now found ourselves in a most miserable
“ situation, as different parties, from the guard
“ that was over us, were coming every hour of
“ the day, sometimes making great promises if
“ we would consent to be circumcised ; and, at
“ others,

“ others, with drawn swords, chaubucks, and
“ ropes ready to tie us ; the barber in the rear
“ ready to shave our heads. This method they
“ continued seven or eight days ; but finding
“ both their threats and promises equally inef-
“ fectual, they took another method to make us
“ consent, by separating us, and allowing no one
“ to speak to us. But finding that this method
“ had as little effect as the others, the Jemmidar
“ took compassion on us, and wrote to Hyder
“ in our behalf. During the time we waited
“ for an answer, we imagined they had dropt
“ their infamous intentions, and daily expected
“ to be sent to you. This interval of hope,
“ however, proved to be but a dream, which
“ was effectually broken on the 27th of August,
“ by the appearance of ten or twelve stout fel-
“ lows, with chaubucks in their hands, and as
“ many caffres with ropes to tie us with. They
“ made no ceremony, but seized, tied us, cut off
“ our hair, and then walked away, like villains
“ that had been bred up to such business, and
“ left us to lament our hard fate.

“ Sept. 1. The same villains again made
“ their appearance, seized and tied us as before,
“ and stood over us while they obliged us to eat
“ a sort of stuff called majum, which nearly di-
“ vested us of our senses, and, in the same even-
“ ing,

“ing, they accomplished their vile design.
“During the time we were with them, we
“would take nothing from them but rice, nor
“would we permit them to take off our irons,
“which they often offered to do, least they
“should imagine that we were contented with
“our situation. We receive a gold fanam a day,
“and are obliged to drill a number of boys sent
“from the Carnatic to be circumcised, and
“kept in these squares. Thank God, what
“they know will never do the Company any
“harm.

Received the 18th

Nov. 1782.

(Signed)

“JAMES SPEEDIMAN,
“RICHARD RUTLIDGE.”

Received the following letter from Serjeant
Dempster :

“Gentlemen,

“Your notes I received. Messrs. Speedi-
“man and Rutledge have so fully answered your
“several questions, concerning the present war
“subsisting between the Company and Hyder,
“that any thing I could add would be no more
“than mere repetition. If I don't mistake,
“how-

“ however, they have omitted to make mention
“ of any thing appertaining to a peace. Such
“ a thing is not talked of; and from what I
“ have collected from a Serjeant who arrived
“ here a few days ago, who has shared the fate
“ common to the rest of us here, it seems, that
“ things don’t wear any tolerable complexion,
“ all owing to the arrival of the French.”

Received the following list of captives from
the midshipmen taken by Monsieur Suffrein, and
given up to Hyder-Alley-Cawn :

“ Hannibal, of 50 guns, February 14, 1782;
“ Messrs. Lefage, Austin, and Drake, midship-
“ men. The Chacer, of 18 guns, February
“ 14; no officer here. The Rake transport,
“ June 6, off the Cape; Mr. Wilkinson, mid-
“ shipman. The Resolution, June 9; Mr. Heid-
“ deman, master’s mate. The Yarmouth, and
“ Fortitude, Company’s ships, June 27; no of-
“ ficer.

“ The number of men belonging to all the
“ ships here are forty-four, and officers belong-
“ ing to the King’s service, five.—In February,
“ the French fleet came on the coast, consisting
“ of twelve sail of the line; and the English of
“ nine. They had an action the 17th of Fe-
“ bruary,

“bruary, which lasted three hours and an half;
“and on the 12th of April, the English, of
“eleven sail, and the French of twelve, engaged
“near Trincomallée for five hours and a half;
“the French much damaged : and, on the 28th
“of June, they engaged off Cuddalore, with the
“same ships as before, for two hours : one
“French sixty-four struck, but she was covered
“by her own ships ; another sixty-four dis-
“masted. The English have drove the French
“off the coast.

“On the 30th of June the French sent all the
“prisoners ashore at Cuddalore, and delivered
“them into the hands of Hyder, and marched
“us into Chillumbrum.—The 12th of August
“they marched us to Bangalore ; on the 20th
“of October they picked out all the youngest
“of the men and officers, and marched us to
“Seringapatam ; and, on the 7th of November,
“they shaved our heads, and on the 10th they
“made us Muffulmen. Since we have been
“here they have given us some dungeree, or
“coarse cloth, and mats to sleep on.

“The 7th of November the Myar came to
“us just before they shaved our heads, and told
“us that we were never to be released, but to
“be kept here, and to be as the Nabob’s sons,
“which

" which makes us very unhappy, thinking we
 " shall never see our native country any more ;
 " but when you are exchanged, we hope that
 " you will make our case known to our fellow-
 " subjects. We are all exceedingly sorry to
 " hear of Colonel Baillie's death. Mr. Austin
 " would be glad to hear from you, if it is agree-
 " able. We have here amongst the sufferers—
 " Messrs. Lesage, Wilkinfon, Austin, Drake,
 " and Heideman—Midshipmen."

Lieutenant Massey and Doctor White's irons
 taken off, on account of sickness.

Nov. 1. Account of a treaty of peace being
 on foot in the Carnatic, but on account of the ar-
 rival of some French troops, with the King of
 France's picture for Hyder, it was broken off.

Received the following journal from Serjeant
 Dempster, which had been sent to him from
 some of the unfortunate Europeans, dated March
 14, 1782.

" Assembled at Seringapatam, under the com-
 " mand of Buffadar Cawn, Jemmidar, who re-
 " ceived the chaylacks (Carnatic boys circum-
 " cised and made slaves) from Seatibie Jemmi-
 " dar, beside the chaylack battalion, twelve hun-

“dred horse, three battalions of sepoy, with
“firelocks of about five hundred men, eight
“gunners, twelve lascars, four rocket-boys,
“one man with a bow and arrows, three thou-
“sand seven hundred and seventy-five Polygars
“with pikes, matchlocks, &c. total, five thou-
“sand, and our artillery park, of four three-
“pounders, iron. When our camp is pitched,
“’tis all of a cluster, about twenty tents, an old
“marqui, and one thousand huts.

“Agreeably to Seatibie’s orders, our victuals
“were cooked with the Commandant’s and Su-
“badar’s. However, they soon shook off that
“incumbrance, and put us on the footing of the
“slave boys. This evening they had taken the
“currey pot away, and we had been waiting for
“it a considerable time : but they not serving
“themselves, Green and Woodley seized it,
“and ran off with it, and we served ourselves,
“to the great mortification of the Commandant,
“Subadars, and Myars, who swore they would
“be revenged on all the Fringeers next day.

“15. Marched to Mysore; the old Com-
“mandant, agreeably to his vow of revenge
“of yesterday, orders the slave-boys rice to be
“cooked for us : but we all refused it, Higgins
“excepted. The Commandant went to the
“Jemmi-

“ Jemmidar and informed him that we had
“ been drinking arrack : whereupon we were
“ made prisoners, two and two, and put under
“ centinels of an out battalion, our swords being
“ taken from us. About midnight they sent
“ us some good rice. The next day they re-
“ leased us, and gave us back our swords. An
“ order issued to deter us from buying arrack
“ and toddy.

“ 17. Arrived at a fort where we received a
“ reinforcement of one thousand Polygars from
“ Shittle-Droog : halted three days and left two
“ guns behind us.

“ 22. Entered into very thick woods. After
“ marching eight miles within the woods, the
“ Polygars in front were surprised by about
“ eighty of the enemy, the Niars, by the Moors
“ called Nimars, a set of people formerly sub-
“ dued by Hyder, but now in a state of rebel-
“ lion. Of this cast is our Commandant and
“ two of our Subadars. They discharged a
“ few matchlocks and arrows at the Polygars,
“ who came running back with their usual
“ bravery. However, they were beat back
“ again to the attack with large bamboos and
“ clubs, by the Verduvalla belonging to the
“ chaylacks. On this a small skirmish ensued;

“ and as the chaylacks advanced, the English
“ drum beat, which caused the enemy to retreat
“ to the woods. Seven of the enemy were
“ taken, one of whom was hanged on a tree,
“ and ten killed. Halted at this place two
“ days,

“ 25. Marched about twelve miles, and
“ came upon about three hundred of the enemy
“ A skirmish of about a quarter of an hour hap-
“ pened, in which five of them were killed and
“ four taken. We had three killed and wounded.
“ The enemy fet off to the woods.

“ 26. In our march took three Niars, who
“ gave information of the enemy being posted
“ in a large village to the right. Upon our
“ arrival there, we found that the enemy had
“ fled. An alarm happened here about mid-
“ night: it was a false one: however, our
“ troops were very much frightened.

“ 27. The Niars taken yesterday were
“ hanged.

“ The Europeans were put under centinels to
“ their companies, on which account we re-
“ fused doing duty, and gave up our swords;
“ for which Higgins was bound with his hands
“ behind

“ behind him all day.—Smith, Innwood, and
“ Clements beat with rattans, and in the even-
“ ing after we encamped, we were all tied in
“ one rope, and ordered to be beat: however
“ we received our swords and were released.

“ 28. Arrived at a small mud fort, in which
“ were three hundred of the enemy. They
“ fired a few ginjauls, a long kind of guns,
“ made of bar iron bound by hoops, of which
“ they had twenty, at our mob: and early in
“ the morning they quitted the fort and escaped.
“ At day-light, our people entered it: halted
“ here twenty days: parties sent out daily, and
“ brought in prisoners, some of whom were
“ hanged, others discharged, after paying a fine
“ of their noses, ears, or left hands.

“ April 4. About five hundred of the ene-
“ my in fight. The troops being formed for
“ battle, and the enemy amongst the bushes
“ in front, they fired at them from the three-
“ pounders, and afterwards advanced, and pla-
“ tooned with small arms. The enemy fired
“ pretty warmly several times, but being close
“ pursued by our mob, they made off to the
“ woods; how many were killed of them is
“ unknown. Nine heads brought in to the Jem-

“ midars. Thus ended the affair with the Niars
 “ for this time.

“ April 18. We marched out of this woody
 “ country, and, on the twenty-first, arrived at a
 “ fort, called Goondull.—N. B. Greens, an old
 “ Subadar, was convicted before the Jemmidar
 “ of endeavouring to persuade the chaylacks to
 “ leave the guns, and go to the Niars, being
 “ one himself ; he was tied to a post, and re-
 “ duced to a private sepoy, but is excused all
 “ duty by his brother Niar, the old Comman-
 “ dant.

“ 23. Arrived at the fort we had left on
 “ the twenty-third of March. The Jemmidar
 “ ordered a sepoy to be beat in a barbarous
 “ manner by four men with large bamboos, and
 “ then to be dragged round the camp, on his
 “ belly, by six men, for cutting his wife with
 “ his sword in two or three places.

“ 24. Arrived at a fort, called Perripatam,
 “ and halted five days.

“ May 1. Marched to a village called Citty
 “ Pore, near which was the ruins of a small
 “ fort, which had been possessed by the Cora-
 “ kees, a set of people formerly subdued, but
 “ who

“ who had afterwards rebelled, destroyed the
“ fort and fled. The country here is woody,
“ and the Niar country distant from Perripatam
“ twenty miles.

“ 2. Arrived on a plain, where a Corakee
“ Rajah joined our mob, with three hundred of
“ his men, armed with matchlocks and b rod
“ knives : proceeded on till we came to a small
“ fort built with large timber, in which were
“ two hundred and fifty Corakees : some of our
“ troops were detached, with three companies
“ of chaylacks to fire musquetry at it, under co-
“ ver of a high bank, which was not of the
“ least service ; the other chaylack company
“ staid in the rear for a body guard to the Com-
“ mander in Chief. The enemy behaved obsti-
“ nately and resolutely. Although they had no
“ guns, they fired very hot from the ginjauls
“ and matchlocks, of which our three pound
“ balls scarcely pierced the timber. At night we
“ drew off to encamp, after firing about eight
“ thousand musquet balls. During the night the
“ enemy left the fort, and did not lose a man
“ in their retreat, and at ten o'clock in the
“ morning the place was entered by four com-
“ panies of sepoy. Thus ended the Corakee
“ affair at present. Within sixteen miles of
“ this fort, are near twenty Corakees hanging
“ on

“ on the trees for their late insurrection. The
“ Corakee Rajah and his men sent to Citty Pore
“ to settle there, for their loyalty. This is the
“ most cowardly mob that was ever known,
“ from the Commander in Chief to the wild
“ Polygars : on the line of march we were like
“ a flock of sheep.

“ 6. Arrived at a stone fort called Marcarry,
“ where several Bramins had been defrauding
“ the troops, who made their complaint to the
“ Jemmidar, who ordered a cock of a firelock
“ to be fixed upon their ears, and made them
“ stand upon one foot, till they agreed to make
“ good the damage sustained by the troops of
“ the town, through their villainy. At this
“ place are seven companies of sepoys, with
“ musquets, lately come from Nagram, and a
“ Portuguese Captain, who commands thirty
“ Muster artillery men. Halted here eight
“ days. The monsoons and rainy season setting
“ in, the mob ordered to canton at Perripatam
“ till orders from the Nabob ; where a station
“ was to be built for the chaylack battalion ;
“ what will be the next exploit God
“ knows, but neither Niars nor Corakees are
“ settled yet. After steering all points of the
“ compass, we are about forty miles from you.
“ This is a most plentiful country.

“ Aug.

“ Aug. 21. Intelligence came to the Jemmidar that a large body of the Corakees were assembling near Marcarry : three thousand Polygars were detached from Perripattam cantonment, and three hundred sepoy from Marcarry ; they came up with the enemy near a large river ; they skirmished for above three quarters of an hour, when the Corakees charged the Polygars. The whole of our party were defeated : only fifty sepoy escaped.

“ Sept. 23. A harcarrah came with intelligence, that the Corakees had made an attempt upon Citty Pore, with an intention of putting to death the Rajah and his men.—
“ The Jemmidar marched with his mob of about four thousand cowards, to Sickle Boor, six miles, and encamped.

“ 27 and 28. Continually skirmished by the enemy, who often surprized our mob by springing out of the jungle or wood. In the evening of the twenty-eighth arrived at Citty Pore ; relieved the fort by leaving two hundred and fifty sepoy in the room of the Rajah and his men, received in camp ; our loss before we arrived here thirty men.

“ 29.

“ 29. Marched from hence; on our way back
“ skirmished; lost fourteen men and encamped
“ at Sickle Boor that evening: all but fifty of
“ the men belonging to the Corakee Rajah de-
“ ferted us.

“ 30. In the evening, the enemy very near
“ our camp. The Jemmidar ordered the music
“ belonging to the matchlocks, the infantry
“ drums, and cavalry trumpets, to be beat and
“ sounded all round the camp every gurry
“ (twenty-three minutes) during the night, in
“ order to frighten away the enemy.

“ Oct. 2. Marched about ten miles, and
“ found the roads stopped with large trees laid
“ across. During the time the labourers were
“ clearing them away, the enemy fired very hot,
“ from both sides of the road, and put our ne-
“ groes to the rout, and took all our bazar
“ and baggage. Several skirmishes happened
“ on our way to Citty Pore, in which we had
“ one European, upwards of one hundred
“ blacks, killed; and three Europeans, sixty
“ blacks, wounded. In great confusion we ar-
“ rived at Citty Pore that evening, where
“ we remained five days; during which time
“ a treaty of peace was concluded between the
“ Jemmidar and the Corakee Prince.

O ct. 8. Our mob was escorted by three
 “ thousand six hundred Corakees on each flank
 “ within five miles of Perripatam : it was un-
 “ doubtedly great folly of the Corakee Prince
 “ to let us come off so easily, as they must have
 “ cut us off entirely.

“ The fort of Citty Pore was given over to
 “ them, as well as all other pretensions to their
 “ country.

“ On the eighteenth of October, two thou-
 “ sand men joined us from Seringapatam.”

Here ends the journal transmitted to us by
 Serjeant Dempster.

The following was sent from Bentall Wood-
 ley to Serjeant Dempster.

“ Dear D.

“ I assure you our situation is very bad, much
 “ worfe than your's. The old Commandant
 “ draws five pagodas per month ; but our pay
 “ and the Subadar's is only one fanam a day,
 “ which changes only for eight pice and three
 “ cash. The Verduvalla Serjeant draws three-
 “ fourths of a fanam a day; the Verduvalla Cor-
 “ poral one pice, one cash; the Havaladar half
 “ a

“ a fanam ; a sepoy one fourth of a fanam per
“ day ; and the provisions that are cooked for
“ the Europeans and boys are all on an equality.
“ The Commandant and Subadars eat (like
“ gentlemen) by themselves ; but we, like slaves,
“ have rice boiled twice a day, in a dirty poi-
“ sonous manner, with a little currey made with
“ doll only. Five seer of ghee per day for five
“ hundred men. We have not had any meat
“ but twice these two months past, on which
“ account it costs us all our eight dubs and three
“ cash per day for victuals. We are treated ill
“ by the old Commandant, who has full com-
“ mand of the battalion ; for we have no com-
“ mand, only at exercise. The Jemmidar,
“ Commander in Chief, who hates all Europe-
“ ans, answers all complaints with jow, jow !
“ (go go !)

“ Mackinnon, being wounded at the Cora-
“ kee fort through the arm with a musket ball,
“ by one of our own mob, the Jemmidar made
“ him a present of a red turban and a set of
“ gold beads, value ten pagodas : all the boys
“ that were wounded received a present of sil-
“ ver bangles, to wear on their wrists, value
“ twenty-six rupees. On the 25th of June,
“ Smithey, Green, Clements, Anderson, Wyl-
“ lies, Mackenzie, and your humble servant,
“ en-

“endeavoured to venture towards Calicut, with
“a determination to extricate ourselves out of
“Hyder’s service. After walking by the light
“of the moon near six cofs, through the thick-
“est woods, we were surprized by wild ele-
“phants and tygers, and by accident lost
“our bread, which determined us to turn back
“again, which we accordingly did; and it seems,
“Higgins, being afraid he should be brought
“into trouble, reported us gone to Seringapa-
“tam, to complain of the Jemmidar’s usage.
“The horse being sent out after us, met us about
“five miles from the cantonment, and brought
“us to the Jemmidar. We said, by way of
“excuse, that we had been out a shooting,
“having a carabine and two pistols with us :
“we were stripped, and all tied in one rope :
“an hundred of the stoutest of our own batta-
“lion received a twig of a tamarind tree and
“served us out a lash each : we had no centi-
“nels over us before we began this adventure,
“but now we are closely guarded.

(Signed)

“BENTALL WOODLEY.”

Nov. 2. Arrived prisoners, two Europeans,
with fifty Carnatic boys.

“Nov. 25.

Nov. 25. Received a letter from the soldiers, and gave the sepoy who brought it five fanams.

Dec. 11. Forty-seven seamen, who were given up to Hyder by Suffrein, appeared this morning on the parade opposite to our prison, and have been circumcised since their arrival here: they were dressed in the Mahomedan dress, white turbans, white linen jackets and long drawers; sixteen of these unfortunate victims could not be above twelve or thirteen years of age.

15. Received accounts of Hyder's death, and that his corps was carried to Collard. He died of an ulcer in his back, which had afflicted him for seven years.

Copy of a letter sent to Serjeant Dempster.

" The gentlemen confined in this prison, re-
" turn you their sincere thanks for your atten-
" tion to their last request, and assure you, that
" should it ever hereafter be in their power to
" be of service to you, they shall not be un-
" mindful of the favours they have received
" from you in their present unfortunate situa-
" tion. Your readiness to oblige us, in the last
" instance, leads us to make another request to
" you

“ you of the most serious consequence to us,
“ and which we think can be attended with no
“ danger to you, or detriment to the service
“ you are unluckily fallen into. It is to forward
“ ward to some English or neutral settlement,
“ on either coast, a small letter, which we shall
“ entrust to you open, and which will only contain
“ a state of the prison and the names of
“ those at present living, with a request of
“ transmitting the same to Madras. To you,
“ who know the length of time we have been
“ shut from all communication with our friends,
“ we need not point out the advantages we may
“ derive, and the satisfaction they must feel,
“ from receiving some account of us ; or on the
“ other hand, the many fatal events that may
“ take place from a supposition of our death.
“ Though an opportunity to comply with this
“ proposal may not at present offer, yet you
“ may keep the letter by you, and from the
“ many detachments and escorts that leave this
“ place, one must occur in course of time.

“ We could therefore wish (if you come into
“ our plan) to send you our letter by the hand
“ that conveys this. Whatever reward you may
“ think necessary, we will engage to have paid
“ at Madras, or other of our forts, and think
“ we can promise the same, should the letter be

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“ delivered

“ delivered at a neutral settlement ; we request
“ therefore that you will be so kind as to deli-
“ ver the accompanying letter to Messrs. Speedi-
“ man and Rutledge, and thank you for the
“ perusal of Woodley’s journal.

“ If you have any communication with Monf.
“ Fortuno, the French Surgeon, we request that
“ you will endeavour to send us a few dozens
“ of tartar emetic, and a list of country medi-
“ cines, to be purchased in the bazar. When
“ you wish to answer this, or at any other time
“ to write to us, let the signal be, the putting
“ a handkerchief over your turban, whilst at
“ drill on the parade.”

Dec. 21. Arrived a new Keeladar (Nabbee Cawn) with one battalion of sepoy, mustered by the head Myar and an Arab.

27. Mustered by a Circar bramin, who took our names, with corps, and rank of each.

Received the following letter from Captain Rumley and Lieutenant Frazer.

“ The poor Colonel (meaning Baillie) had
“ been ill for some months before he died, and
“ I think would have recovered, if he had had
2 1 “ any

“ any assistance, but the cruel rascals would not
“ admit of Doctor White or the Frenchman
“ coming near him, although they saw his sufferings were beyond description : we got a
“ sort of coffin made for him, and some sepoy,
“ Peons, and a European attended his funeral.
“ We are beset by eleven guards, ten golaks,
“ one Commandant, Subadar, Myar, and Verduvalla, and allowed a quarter of damnable
“ goat, a measure and half of rice, a little milk,
“ three loaves of bread each, about the size of
“ a six pound shot, some ghee, currey stuff,
“ wood, and six cash per day between us.—
“ They will not let us have a knife to cut a
“ bit of cloth, nor the sight of a book ; so you
“ see we are prettily situated.”

Hyder's death made public at the Cutcheeree, and the naggars (large drums beat every day at twelve in the great square) ordered to discontinue beating for three days, on account of that event.

Received the following letter from Serjeant Dempster : a subscription of two dubs each, to requite the sepoy who brought it.

“ Gentlemen,

“ Your note of the 15th December, I received:
“ the short but real picture of your very unfor-
“ tunate situation has made me melt into tears
“ of sympathy, that our name and our country
“ should thus be the sport of barbarians; and
“ believe me, gentlemen, that there is nothing
“ within the verge of my power that could al-
“ leviate in the smallest degree your present suf-
“ ferings, in the great anxiety you must be in
“ to hear some solacing account after so long an
“ interval of suspense and confinement, that
“ would not most readily be embraced.—I
“ am exceedingly sorry that it is not at present
“ in my power to give you any full or satisfac-
“ tory account. The grand news is as follows :
“ That on the 29th of November departed this
“ life Hyder-Ally-Cawn: he is succeeded by
“ his eldest son Tippoo Saib, who bears a very
“ good character indeed; he is now at the grand
“ camp near Vellore. In consequence of the
“ above, about fifteen days ago arrived here a
“ new Keeladar: he acts conjunctly with the
“ old one, as *very* a villain as exists.

“ I could gather no more from the Serjeant,
“ than that he was taken some months ago near
“ Trincomallée with two hundred sepoy. No
“ juncture of time so barren of news as the pre-
“ sent,

"sent, chiefly owing to the death of Hyder :
 "every one's mouth is full of it. You do me
 "a great deal of honour in confiding a trust in
 "me to forward your letter to the Carnatic,
 "and be fully assured that no means or oppor-
 "tunity shall be omitted. I sincerely thank
 "you for your favour, and promise of protec-
 "tion hereafter. I never intend to avail my-
 "self of it, as the title of Defenter is almost
 "insupportable to any one tinctured with the
 "smallest atom of spirit. From the most ro-
 "bust as well as healthy constitution, I am to-
 "tally changed into a habit that daily tells me
 "my stay shall not be long. Then be expe-
 "ditious in sending your letter. This revolu-
 "tion offers a field for much news. Tokens as
 "usual. Sorry I am that I can't add any thing
 "else. This I have writ only with the light
 "of the fire ; otherwise the seeing me occupied
 "with pen and ink would subject me to be ex-
 "amined.—As this town is now full of spies,
 "poor Mr. Clarke has been sent to camp about
 "two months ago, to fill the place of a Corpo-
 "ral Anderson of the 73d regiment, killed.

"I moved the matter to Monf. Fortuno (the
 "French Surgeon) concerning medicines, but
 "he can give you no assistance at present ; he
 "says, when the hurry of this crisis is over,

“ he will be affisting. I had by me a small
“ atom of tartar emetic, which I send per
“ bearer. Give me leave, once more, gentle-
“ men, to make you a tender of my services,
“ and to request that you will confide in me as
“ in one who feels sensibly for your sufferings.”

The following letter sent to Serjeant Dempster, in order that he may forward it. (From the English officers confined in Seringapatam.)

“ To the Governor or Commanding Officer of
“ any English settlement.

“ S I R,

“ AFTER a tedious and melancholy seclusion
“ from our friends and the world, we have at
“ length a prospect of transmitting some ac-
“ count of ourselves to those who must but too
“ sensibly feel for our situation, and be truly
“ anxious for our lives and health.

“ We do not know at which of our settle-
“ ments this letter will first arrive, but request
“ that the sum of one hundred pagodas be in-
“ stantly paid on our account to the person who
“ shall deliver it; and that it be with all con-
“ venient speed transmitted to the Governor of
“ Fort St. George, and the Commander in Chief.
“ We

“ We are all in good health, and, considering
“ the nature and length of our confinement, in
“ tolerable spirits; a gold fanam per day is our
“ sole allowance, for subsistence and every ne-
“ cessary of life.

“ We imagine, from the humanity Tippoo
“ Saib has generally shewn to Europeans, that
“ if our confinement be likely to continue much
“ longer, an application to him for an in-
“ crease of allowance, and striking off our
“ irons, might not be without effect.—We
“ should wish, at the same time, to be allowed
“ medicines, and the attendance of the French
“ Surgeon, both of which have been for many
“ months denied us; to which and our close
“ confinement we must chiefly attribute the
“ death of those we have already lost.

“ Colonel Baillie died on the 13th Novem-
“ ber last. He, Captain Rumley, and Lieu-
“ tenant Frazer, were confined in a Choultry
“ by themselves, and were taken out of irons
“ in March last; the two latter are well, but still
“ are kept separate from us. Lieutenant Lind
“ died here the 14th of April; Captain Lucas
“ July 5th; Mr. Hope, cadet, the 7th; and
“ Lieutenant Maconichy the 9th of the same
“ month,


“ We earnestly request the Governor and
“ Commander in Chief to order copies of this
“ letter to be sent to the several subordinate set-
“ tlements and garrisons on the Coromandel
“ coast, as also by the first ships to Europe, with
“ directions for its being published in the Lon-
“ don newspapers. We hope it is needless to
“ enforce this request, by pointing out the many
“ domestic anxieties that must arise from a
“ total ignorance of our fate, and the melan-
“ choly effect that may be prevented by a know-
“ ledge of it.

“ We beg leave to mention Lieutenant Gor-
“ don of Colonel Baillie’s detachment, and Mr.
“ Brunton taken at Pondicherry, who are con-
“ fined with the soldiers by one of the many
“ unaccountable acts of this government, tho’
“ repeatedly assured of their being officers. We
“ have heard that Mr. M’Neale, mate of a
“ country ship, and Mr. Wilson, an officer of
“ the Company’s cruizer Yarmouth, are also con-
“ fined in the soldier’s prison.

“ Sid Abram, Commandant of the Tanjore
“ cavalry, is confined with us, and well merits
“ the Honourable Company’s remembrance in
“ the article for the return of prisoners. There is
“ a servant of one of the officers here, which
“ makes

“ makes the number of Europeans in this prison amount to thirty-eight.

“ P. S. From the death of Hyder, and the very different conduct of his son to such Europeans as have fallen into his hands, we are induced to hope something might be effected for the relief of such officers and men as have been circumcised and forced into the service of Hyder Ally, though even a peace may be a more distant event than his death gives us reason to hope. We therefore embrace this opportunity of informing the Government of Fort St. George, that they who have suffered this misfortune, *at this place*, are as follows, viz. Lieutenants Speediman and Rutledge; Ensign H. G. J. Jennings Clarke; Mess. Le Sage, Austin, Wilkison, Drake, and Heidemian, midshipmen belonging to his Majesty's Navy; eleven non-commissioned and privates of the 73d regiment; forty-four seamen, King's and Company's; and about forty non-commissioned and privates of the Company's troops.”



Jan. 12.—1783. The Keeladar of Nagram, Jad Bhie, has revolted and gone over to General Mathews.

13. Raised by public subscription forty gold fanams, which we have sent to Captain Rumley and Lieutenant Frazer.

Tippoo Saib was in the Calicut country at the time his father died, and immediately on his hearing the news, he ordered a new Keeladar here, with one battalion of sepoy, and proceeded himself (with Lally) to take charge of the army in the Carnatic. It was twenty-seven days from the time of his father's death until the time he took charge of the army, and every thing went on as smooth as before.

19. The whole of us turned out to satisfy the curiosity of a visitor, a black man of some consequence.

23. Two Europeans and five Subadars, who were taken in the Tanjore country, have been obliged to carry mud, in order to force them to take service.

25. Arrived Colonel Braithwaite and Ensign Holmes, not in irons. Arrived at the same time Captain Leech: he is confined in a different prison, with the daily allowance of six cash and one seer of rice.

Colonel

Colonel Braithwaite had been Commander of the troops destined for the protection of Tanjore and the neighbouring provinces, consisting of twenty-five European and one hundred and thirteen native artillery, ten field-pieces, one howitzer, one hundred and forty-two native cavalry, mounted, and the same number dismounted, one hundred and nineteen light infantry, with twenty-three artillery attached to the cavalry, the tenth battalion, and eight companies of the thirteenth battalion of sepoys, two grenadier companies of the sixteenth battalion, and six grenadier companies of sepoys. This force, amounting to about two thousand and thirteen men, infantry and cavalry, lay in camp on the banks of the Coleroon, at the distance of forty miles from Tanjore. Colonel Braithwaite, situated in an open plain, was evidently exposed to the enemy's cavalry; though apparently secured from any sudden attack, by several large and deep rivers which lay between him and Hyder-Ally, who was at a considerable distance. But Hyder, apprized of these circumstances, determined to cut off this detachment, as he had done that under Colonel Baillie.

Tippoo Saib, accompanied by Monsieur Lal-ly, with four hundred French infantry, marched on this enterprize, at the head of twenty thou-
“ fand

and troops of his own, one half of which was cavalry.—With this formidable army, and twenty pieces of cannon, he suddenly surrounded the English, unprepared, and unable to resist him. Colonel Braithwaite, on the approach of Tippoo, endeavoured to march off to Tanjore, or some other place of safety. Superior numbers on the side of the enemy rendered this impossible, and brought on an action, which was continued from the 16th to the 18th day of February. For the space of twenty-six hours, an unremitted fire of cannon and small arms was supported on both sides. The English commander, attacked in every quarter, that he might present a front every way to the enemy, threw his detachment into an hollow square, with his field-pieces interspersed in its faces, and his small body of cavalry in the centre. The Colonel, though wounded and bleeding, would not withdraw from the scene of action for a moment; but encouraged the efforts of his intrepid little army, by looks, voice, and action. A violent cannonade on all sides was expected to make a breach in our lines, in some quarter or other of the square in which our troops were formed. Tippoo watched every appearance that might encourage an irruption of his cavalry; and wherever he judged that his fire arms had made an impression, he led them on by example, by pro.

promises, by threats, by stripes, and fugitives slain with his own hands.—They advanced repeatedly to the charge, but were as often repelled by the showers of grape shot and that of musquetry. The moment they were driven back, the British cavalry, rushing forwards from the center of the square, through openings made by our well-disciplined troops, for that purpose, pursued them with heavy and unresisted execution to a due distance, and then returned to their proper stations. But at last, when great numbers of our men had fallen, and those who remained were worn down with wounds and fatigue, Monsieur Lally, at the head of his four hundred Europeans, with fixed bayonets, supported by several battalions of infantry, and flanked by prodigious numbers of cavalry, marched with steady resolution to attack that side of the square which had been most exposed and suffered most in the action. Our exhausted sepoys, unable to repulse the onset of such a body of Europeans coming fresh into action, daring, from the vast army that supported them, and confident of success, were instantly thrown into confusion. The enemy's cavalry rushed in amongst our disordered troops. A dreadful carnage ensued; nor would one have remained of this unfortunate body of men to report the fate of his friends, if the humanity of an European

K ropean officer had not been opposed to the barbarous fury of Asiatic conquerors. Monsieur Lally lost not a moment in putting a stop to the effusion of blood. The French troops readily obeyed his orders. But it was not till the sword of the Commander was dyed with the blood of five individuals, among his native troops, that they ceased to indulge their savage fury. Colonel Braithwaite, with nineteen officers, fell into the hands of Tippoo.

Jan. 31. Arrived prisoners two hundred and fifty Carnatic children.

Feb. 5. The Verduvalla, at our request, waited on the Keeladar, to acquaint him that we wished to see him, or some head person, in order to lay before him our miserable situation, being in want of medicines, and nearly two years in irons.

6. Visited by the second Myar, who ordered Lieutenant Sampson's irons to be taken off, on account of his indisposition.

Lieutenants Lindsey and Massey put in irons.

Sid Abram (our black Commandant), by the desire of the whole, requested of the Myar
to

to deliver the following particulars to the Kee-ladar.

1st. That we had been in heavy irons for near two years. 2d. That we had no medicines, nor were even allowed to purchase any for the relief of the sick. 3d. That we might be allowed one bottle of pia arrack, for the use of the sick only, and to be kept always in charge of the centinel. 4th. That our allowance of a fanam per day was too small. 5th. That Mr. Skardon might be put on the same allowance as the whole of us, he at present receiving only fix cash, one feer of rice, half of doll, a little currey-stuff and ghee per day. To these we received no answer.

Feb. 14. Mustered by the Myar, who particularly examined our irons.

26. Removed to Myfore, Captain Rumley, Lieutenants Frazer and Sampson : poor Sampson was exceedingly ill of an ague at the time he left us.—We made up a small sum of forty gold fanams for him : strange are the conjectures concerning the fate of these three gentlemen.

March 1.

March 1. Received a letter from Colonel Braithwaite: he and Ensign Holmes are allowed one fanam per day each. Colonel Braithwaite having represented to us their miserable situation, we raised by public subscription seventy gold fanams, and have desired the Colonel to convey, if possible, part of the above sum to Captain Leech, who, we understand, is starving on six cash per day: this unfortunate man was taken at Pudelotah, thirty miles from Trichinopoly, and is now confined along with two Serjeants and three Subadars.

12. A letter sent to the circumcised Europeans a few days ago, and received the following answer.

" Dear Gentlemen and Countrymen,

" YOUR note we received, but sorry we are
 " to tell you, that little satisfaction we can give
 " you; no farther than to acquaint you that
 " Nagram is ours. Captain Rumley and two
 " more officers were sent to Myfore. Gentle-
 " men we are sore oppressed, against our will, to
 " do as we do. You mention in your note about
 " letters for the Carnatic, which we do not
 " understand. Our army is about nine days
 " march from this. Messrs. Speediman, Rut-
 " ledge, a Serjeant Major, and another Serjeant,

" " ar

“are all in irons at Gunjum Pett, for attempting to make their escape.”

March 14. Mahomed Ally, a General in Tippoo's service, encamped six miles to the northward of this, on his way to Nagram.—His party consists of five hundred French, two battalions of topasses, five battalions of sepoy, three thousand horse, with several guns.

Sent Colonel Braithwaite thirty-four fanams, which we raised with the utmost difficulty.

March 22. Arrived the reliques of the late Hyder-Ally Cawn, and interred in the Loll Bang garden, one mile east of the fort.

25. Received a letter from Colonel Braithwaite, wherein he informs us that he has only received sixty fanams. A Verduvalla who was over the Colonel at this time, attended our prison, on account of his indisposition; consequently we thought this a favourable opportunity to remit the money, and accordingly entrusted him; but found, to our sorrow, that he kept up forty fanams and two letters,

April 1. Colonel Braithwaite having pointed out a channel of corresponding with Tanjore,

H

and

and wishing to have fifty fanams transmitted to him for that purpose, we have raised that sum by subscription, and sent it him, together with a list of our names, in order that they may be forwarded to our friends.

Received the following letter from some of the European Mussulmen.

“ Dear Gentlemen,

“ WE intend to avail ourselves of the first opportunity to escape, as we would sooner die than remain in this rascal’s service. If you should be released before we put this scheme in execution, pray be so good as to consider our miserable situation.”

May 1—2. Salutes fired, on account of some favourable news received from Nagram, and sugar given to the inhabitants (guards go about with baskets full of sugar, distributing it like Roman dolls, among the people) and drums beating, in consequence of our having lost Nagram.

May 6. The person who engaged with Colonel Braithwaite to transact the correspondence with Tanjore, has declined to execute it.

16. The whole of us have subscribed half a fanam each per month to Captain Leech, which puts him on a level with us, as we understand he is in a most wretched situation.

June 20. Received the following letter from Brigadier-General Mathews, who arrived prisoner here the 27th of May, 1783.

“ I am sorry for the misfortune of my friends.
“ Rumley is dead. Fetherstone was killed. I
“ *was* a Brigadier-General and Commander in
“ Chief on the Malabar coast. Mangalore has
“ a very good garrison, and I think will hold
“ out till relieved from Madras. Our fleet is
“ superior to the French in India. Our army
“ victorious in the Carnatic; likewise in the
“ Cuddapa country. Lang, a Brigadier-General, has taken Corrore, and has ten thousand
“ good men under him. Our affairs wear a
“ tolerable aspect. The Marrattas have made
“ a peace and alliance with us. I had three
“ hundred Europeans and eight hundred sepoy,
“ effective, at Nagram, called also Bedanore,
“ and made a treaty with Tippoo, which he
“ broke, plundered us, and made us close prisoners. I think that Tippoo wishes for a
“ peace with us, and that something towards it
“ may take place in November. I am used ill,
H 2 “ but

"but, not in irons. I have neither pen, ink,
 "nor paper, and it is dangerous to correspond.
 "All the strong forts are in our possession. I
 "took the whole Malabar coast. I brought
 "from Bombay four hundred Europeans and one
 "thousand sepoy, and was afterwards joined by
 "the Calicut army. The number of places taken
 "by me required all my troops to garrison, and
 "I had not any support from any place. We
 "knew not of your situation: if I had known
 "it, I should not have been a prisoner. Ge-
 "neral Stewart commands at Madras. The
 "troops that the French landed have been de-
 "feated. For myself and two European ser-
 "vants, and one black, I am allowed one fan-
 "nam and a half per day, with one seer of
 "meat, three seer of bad rice, and one of ghee. 4
 "I am compelled to receive what they give,
 "and not allowed to buy any other from the
 "bazar. I cannot procure any thing but thro'
 "the Hircarrah. Should any thing happen to
 "my life, I wish you to remember, that the
 "Company owe me, for money advanced by
 "me during my command, thirty-three thou-
 "sand rupees, besides all my pay, and allowance
 "due from the time of my arrival in India.—
 "The troops that were with me are some in the
 "Nabob's service; the rest sent in irons to diffe-
 "rent parts of the country.

"RICHARD MATHEWS."

4 Buffalo's Milk, converted into Oyl, Saw
 called by Thom, butter, very rancid,
 to the taste nauseous, except quite fresh.

May 30. Saw the European Muffulmen at drill this morning on the parade; they gave us the compliment of the salam.

June 4. In honour of his Majesty's birthday, we had for dinner two quarters of stewed mutton, with a bread pudding; and drank his health in pure water.

July 1. Repeated applications to the Kee-ladar, in order to have several gentlemen's irons taken off, on account of their legs being swelled, and otherwise indisposed, but without success.

Raised by subscription twenty fanams, which we have given to the washerman for bringing General Mathews's letter, &c.

23. The whole of us have subscribed one dub each for the Doctor's medicine box. This we do occasionally.

Received a letter from Colonel Braithwaite, of which what follows is an extract.

"As we burn all your letters, we could be glad you would send the names of those herbs good for sore legs. Captain Leech's are swelled,

H 3

"and

“and very sore: he has no covering for them
 “but old rags, from whence I conjecture that
 “his w—— will let no cloth be bought for
 “him; therefore it would be an act of charity,
 “if, amongst you, you would make up for him
 “four suits of shirts and drawers, and deduct
 “the money out of his next month’s supply.
 “you can fend them from time to time by the
 “waistcoat washerman.”

July 24. Our servants, in going for water
 this evening, accosted a Subadar for news.—
 This man was formerly in our service. He de-
 sired the servants to give his particular salam to
 us, and tell us to keep up our spirits, for that
 we would very soon be released.

Sid Gofforr, who was a Commandant of a
 battalion of Zebundy sepoy, and taken prisoner
 in the Tanjore country, is appointed Comman-
 dant to a regiment of cavalry, and allowed a
 palanquin. This is a particular mark of Tip-
 poo’s favour, as no one is permitted to make
 use of a palanquin, unless by express orders from
 the Nabob. Sid Gofforr, previously to his ap-
 pointment, sent for his wife and children, as
 pledges of his fidelity.

This

This is a piece of policy very common among all the princes of India. If any person is distinguished by fortune, by connections, or by any trust under government, care is taken that his family, or those who are most dear to him, shall be placed under the immediate observation of the prince, or the minister in whom he confides. The head men, as they are called, of different villages, quarters of towns, &c. keep registers of all families of any note within their districts.

At five o'clock, P. M. received intelligence of a project contrived in order to reinstate the King of Myfore. How dangerous soever this conspiracy might appear to be, yet every member at first appeared steady and undaunted.— The parties who entered into this plot, were the Inchivalla, head post-master to Tippoo Saib, and keeper of the privy seals; the Prime Minister of the old King of Myfore; two Subadars; and nine other head men. One of the Subadars had the command of one hundred men: the other had been a Subadar in Captain Keating's battalion, and taken prisoner at the fall of Amboor, a garrison in the Carnatic. The whole of the conspirators assembled several times, and after matters were arranged, they each swore solemnly to observe secrecy. Letters were then dis-

patched to our army, at that time in the Combitor country, the Marrattas, and Corakees, requiring their assistance. Every thing promised success. They then agreed to disperse for the present, and to meet at the general rendezvous about seven the same evening: but unfortunately for them, and likewise for all the prisoners, the Subadar who had the command of the hundred men instantly went to the Keeladar and informed him of the whole plot. Guards were ordered, and the whole party secured and thrown into dungeons.

The first object of the conspirators was, to have made sure of the Keeladar, the head Myar, and Afoff Cawn; these three were to have been instantly put to death: their next, to have released all the European and other prisoners, and then to have murdered the whole of Afoff Cawn's battalion, the sepoy's of that corps having charge of all the prisoners, magazines, gates, &c.

Aug. 8. A current report that we are all to be burned, as a retaliation for the loss Tippoo has sustained on the Malabar coast.

Tippoo's son, a lad about eight years of age, frequently takes an airing on horseback, in a street

street adjoining to our prison: which street, since the plot has been discovered, is lined with centinels, and no one is allowed to pass or repass.

On this occasion we peeped eagerly through some small apertures we had found means to make, or to improve a little, in the walls of our prison. The young Sultan was mounted on a beautiful managed Arabian horse, finely caparioned. He was attended and preceded by a number of people, some of whom bore up his umbrella, others fanned his face, others proclaimed his rank and high descent. At one particular place by which he passed and repassed, two elephants were stationed to pay their compliments to the young prince among the rest of his adorers. The creatures were not only taught to kneel at his approach, and shew other marks of obedience, but to fan his face as he went along, with fans which they grasped and wielded with their trunk or proboscis.

Aug. 11. An addition to our guard of two troopers, and the Myar has visited our prison three times this morning, with orders to the guards to be particularly vigilant.

Aug. 14. A most melancholy fight this morning: one of the conspirators stripped naked,
and

and dragged to death at an elephant's foot. In the afternoon, two more of them, with their noses and ears cut off, riding on jack-asses, were hanged at the north gate of the fort.

17. The washerman acquaints us that General Mathews is put in irons.

19. Our Havaladar says peace is making.

23. Received the following from Colonel Braithwaite.

"Just as I had sent my dispatch to General Mathews, his servants were brought to Leech's guard, where they now are, confined with him and the Serjeant. They have half a fanam a-day between them; and the General, I suppose, is reduced to one: they were strictly examined by the Keeladar as to what the General's conversation turned upon; particularly if the English did not want to make peace. The washerman has informed me, that my letters were safely delivered to the General. The General is put in irons."

We hear that eleven thousand horse have died in Tippoo's camp since his arrival on the Malabar

Malabar coast, many elephants and camels, and a vast number of bullocks; and that his army in general is very sickly.

This day a list was made out of the following articles, fabricated by the English officers, prisoners with Hyder-Ally-Cawn, and Tippoo Sultan Bahadar, in Seringapatam.

Hats of leather.

Caps, of coarse dungerec.

Stocks of ditto.

Neckcloths of ditto.

Banyan shirts, ditto.

Jackets, ditto.

Waistcoats, ditto.

Trowsers, ditto.

Socks, ditto.

Buttons of thread.

Tables of Bamboo, and covered with a mat.

Stools of ditto.

Cots of Bamboo, by the means of an old knife, converted into a saw; the cot lashed with coir rope, made from the cocoa nut.

Bird cages of Bamboo.

Trunks of ditto, 1100 pieces in one trunk.

Rat traps of ditto.

Squirrel traps of ditto.

Forks

Forks of ditto.

Backgammon tables of ditto.

Dice, sawn with an old knife; the ivory acquired by stealth in the bazar.

Chefs-boards, of paper and cloth.

Cards, two folds of paper, and one of cloth, pasted together with thick conjee, and polished with the jaw-bone of a sheep.

Ink, of lamp-black, with a little gum water. One chatty was placed over the head of another, to collect the smoke of the taper or wick of a lamp, which was swept off every day.

Pens of fowl quills.

Paints, brought in by stealth,—indigo, red wool, and turmerick.

Aug. 25. Troops and guns arrived from Tippoo's camp, all corroborating the accounts of peace.

27. Our Paymaster says, that thirty heavy guns are arrived here, in consequence of peace.—This good man seems to take a pleasure in giving us any information that may contribute to ease our situation.

Sept. 1. Saw forty of the European Muffulmen at drill. Visited by the Myar, and a Circar

car Bramin, who took all our names, with the rank, corps, and monthly pay of each.

8. The washerman gives us the melancholy accounts of General Mathews's death. He died the 7th instant; and at the time he departed this life he was in irons. The washerman further informed us, that he had not changed his linen for twenty days, on account of his knowing that the Keeladar had mixed poison in the victuals he daily sent him. It appeared, indeed, from the treatment that the General at first met with, that Tippoo meant to use unfair means with him. Had he intended to use him agreeably to his rank, he ought to have allowed him his staff to accompany him during his confinement: but so far from that, that he first broke a solemn treaty with the General and his officers.—The General was then separated from the whole of his little captive army, brought here under a strong guard, thrown into a filthy dungeon; his baggage, cot, and every thing of the smallest consequence taken from him; his servants removed, and he himself thrown into heavy irons; and at last, to put a finishing stroke to the horrid scene, he was dispatched by poison.

The General, when he learnt, from a combination of suspicious circumstances, as well as
 1 hints

limits let fall from those that were occasionally about his person, that it was the Sultan's intention to cut him off by poison, refused to taste of the victuals that was sent to him at stated times from the Keeladar's. Some of the guards, and even the servants who carried the poisoned victuals, took compassion on the General, and gave him now and then a little of theirs. The Havalidar, who had the charge of the General, connived at these acts of humanity at first, and manifested symptoms of uneasiness and dissatisfaction with the part assigned to him in the scene going forward. But this officer, when it was found that General Mathews still protracted his miserable existence, was sent for by the Keeladar, who told him that the General's life, if much longer continued, must be paid for by the Havalidar's death. Upon this the Havalidar communicated his orders, with the threats that accompanied them, to his unfortunate prisoner, who now had no other alternative than that of perishing by famine or by poison. The anxious love of life maintained, for several days, a struggle with the importunate calls of furious hunger. These, however, prevailed in the issue of the contest. He eat of poisoned food, and he drank too, whether to quench the rage of inflamed thirst, or to drown the torments of his soul in utter insensibility, of the poisoned cup.

Within

Within six hours after this fatal repast, he was found dead. This is a faithful and true account of the death of Lieutenant-General Mathews, which has been set forth in various ways. The manner in which these particulars were brought to light was this:—The death of the General being reported to the Keeladar, it was mentioned, on that occasion, that a brass basin was found in his prison, with some writing on it; which must have been done with a fork he had with him. This was brought to the Keeladar, and read and interpreted by an European who had engaged in the Sultan's service.

The Paymaster tells us that peace is broke off, and that the Commandants of horse and infantry, cantoned in this vicinity, have received orders to recruit men with the utmost expedition.

Sept. 9. The washerman says, that immediately on his delivering General Mathews's linen to the Circar, it was tore to pieces and thrown into the streets.

18. The head Derroga of the slaves, who visits the Keeladar daily, is attended by nine of the European slave-boys who have been circumcised: each of them having a silver pearl in their

their right ear, this being a badge of slavery amongst the Mahometans.

Sept. 19. The head Derroga appeared this evening on the terrace of Tippoo Saib's house, which has a flat roof, with one turret at each corner, attended by five of the European slave-boys. On his perceiving us in the yard of our prison, he immediately called the unfortunate victims to the edge of the house, and particularly pointed us out to them.—They were so very much affected that they burst into tears, and retired. The Derroga again brought them, and spoke to them in a very serious manner: we were not near enough to hear the conversation.—It was the horror that the boys felt at the thought of being for ever shut out from the society of their countrymen, and the hope of returning to their country, that wrung their tender souls with anguish. The pain they felt was merely of this social kind, for, as far we could judge from appearances, or from concurring reports, they were not subjected to any species of toil or drudgery, or to ill usage of any sort. They were, on the contrary, well clothed and fed, and supplied with every accommodation that was either necessary or convenient. They were sent to school, to be instructed in the Persian language, in arithmetic, and algebra;

"dren in whom there was no blemish, but well
 "favoured, and skilful in all wisdom, and cunning
 "in knowledge, and understanding science,
 "and such as had ability in them to stand in the
 "King's palace, and to whom they might teach
 "the learning and the tongue of the Chalde-
 "ans. And the King appointed them a daily
 "provision of the King's meat, and of the
 "wine which he drank : so nourishing them
 "three years, that at the end thereof they might
 "stand before the King.—Among these were
 "of the children of Judah, Daniel, Hananiah,
 "Mishael, and Azariah ; unto whom the prince
 "of the eunuchs gave names : for he gave unto
 "Daniel the name of Belteshazzar ; and to Ha-
 "naniah, of Shadrack, and to Mishael, of Me-
 "shech ; and to Azariah, of Abed-nego."*

As a resemblance may thus be traced between
 the situation of the sons of Judah under Nebu-
 chadnezzar and those of Great Britain under
 the Indian Monarch, so also we discern an affi-
 nity between the feelings and emotions to which
 those unfortunate situations gave birth. The
 tears and other signs of melancholy which were
 manifested to our view by the European slave-
 boys in the midst of ease and plenty, in the pa-
 lace of a King ! recalled to our thoughts how

na-

* Daniel i. 3—7.

natural it was for the Jews of old, "To hang
 " their harps on the willows, to sit down by
 " rivers of Babylon, and to weep when they
 " remembered Zion.*"

Sept. 23. The Paymaster assures us that
 peace is certainly made.

26. Saw some of the European slave-boys
 on the top of Tippoo Saib's house: they paid
 us the compliment of the salam, made many
 melancholy signals with their hands, shed a flood
 of tears, and retired.

27. The annual Gentoo feast commenced this
 evening, which was continued, according to
 custom, for nine days. The King of Mysore
 made his appearance in a veranda, in front of
 his palace, about seven o'clock. It is only on
 occasion of this anniversary that he is visible to
 his nominal subjects.

This young Prince, in whose name the family
 of Hyder-Ally, who assume only the title of re-
 gent, carry on the administration of government,
 is allowed for himself and his family, an annual
 pension of one lack of rupees. He is treated
 with all those marks of homage that are paid

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to

* Psalm cxxxvii.

to crowned heads. In his name proclamation is made of war and of peace, and the trophies of victory are laid at his feet. Like Kings, too, he has his guards: but these are appointed and commanded by the usurper of his throne, whose authority and safety depend on the Prince's confinement. Yet such is the reverence that is paid by the people of Mysore to the blood of their antient Kings, and so formidable are they rendered even in their present state of subjection, to the most vigorous character as well as powerful Prince in the peninsula of Hindostan, by their numbers, and the extent of their cities, especially of Seringapatam, the capital, which would facilitate their intercourse and co-operation, if any common principle or cause should spread the flames of discontent and insurrection, that it is thought expedient by the present government, not to cut off the hereditary Prince of Mysore, according to the usual policy of despots, but to adorn him with the pageantry of a crown, to furnish him with all that is necessary to a life of sensual pleasure, to immerse him in voluptuousness, to unnerve his mind, and at stated times to present him, a royal puppet, to the view and acclamations of his people.

The spacious palace in which the young King of Mysore resides, stands in a large square, in
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the very center of Seringapatam, in an angle of which our prison was also situated. Hence we had an opportunity of enjoying the sight of this annual festival, in which we were indulged during the whole time that it lasted. The Prince, who is quite black, but exceedingly comely, appeared, as is already mentioned, in a royal veranda or open gallery, in front of his palace.—The curtains with which the gallery was hung being drawn up, discovered the King seated on a throne, with numerous attendants on each hand; some of whom fanned him, others scattered perfumes on his long black hair, and on his clothes, and others presented his hooker, replenished from time to time with betel and other narcotics. The veranda was decorated with the finest hangings, and resplendent with precious stones, among which a diamond of immense size and value, shone with distinguished lustre. On a stage, extended in the open square, along the front of the palace, musicians, balladiers, and a species of gladiators, entertained the King with his train, in the gallery, and the multitude that filled the square, with music, dancing, tumbling, wrestling, mock engagements, and other pantomimical diversions. The ladies of his Majesty's haram, as well as the European prisoners, were, on this occasion, indulged with greater freedom than usual, being al-

lowed to enjoy the spectacle through lattice windows, as well as the other subjects of Mysore. They were not black, but fair, and exceedingly handsome. Their number seemed to be from forty to fifty.—The girls of Hyder's seraglio, who were maintained by Tippoo in their usual residence, after his death, amounted to the number of five hundred.

The King having sat motionless in great state for several hours, rose up, when he was about to retire, and advancing to the edge of the gallery, shewed himself to the people, who honoured him with marks of the most profound and even superstitious veneration. The curtains then dropt, and his Majesty retired to the inner parts of the palace, with his women.

As the subject of Eastern harams naturally excites curiosity in Europeans, the Writer of this Journal may perhaps gratify the curiosity of some of his readers, and relieve the gloom of of this Narrative, by what follows.

On the conclusion of the late war in India, a certain officer appointed to collect the revenue, in a district dependent on the Company, became acquainted with the Governor or head man of a town and territory belonging to it, who held that station in the name of the sovereign Prince

This is obscure "dependent on the" whose Company and "belonging to it." How could he hold his station in a territory dependent on the Company "in the name of a sovereign Prince, and be amenable to him? who could have no power over a Head Man

whose court was established in another part of the country. This delegated power he had swayed for a long course of years, with advantage to himself, but without oppressing the people. A report had been spread that he had become exorbitantly rich: in consequence of which, the Prince his master, agreeably to the manner of Eastern despots, recalled him from his government to the city where he had fixed his throne, that he might plunder him of the wealth which he had acquired among his distant subjects.

The Governor having received orders to return home, was struck with all those apprehensions which trouble and distract the deputies of Asiatic Chiefs and Princes in similar situations. To conciliate the favour of the tyrant by presents, to pacify him by a liberal share of the spoil, is the measure which prudence naturally dictates to the Viceroy, who cannot appeal to any other law than the will of the Sovereign.— But nothing less than the whole is commonly found sufficient to gratify the rapacity of the Prince himself, or those about his person. Nay the whole is not always enough to redeem the possessor from imprisonment, torture, and death. For some exaggerates the utmost amount of his fortune. The more he gives, the greater the

store is supposed to be from which he gives it. A considerable hoard is thought still to remain : and in order to wrest this imaginary treasure from the hands of the miserable owner, every instrument of terror is employed that cruel ingeniouness can devise.

The person whose history has given occasion at present, to these observations, was fully aware of the extreme danger of his situation ; and in the anxiety of his mind, communicated what had happened to him to the English officer above-mentioned. This gentleman, touched with his distresses, and sensible that he would risque all that was desirable or dear to man, if he should return to his master, undertook to represent his case to the Presidency of —, and at the same time to make them fully sensible how well he deserved of the English, to whose interests indeed he had shewn an uniform attachment.— This the officer did without delay, and comforted the Governor with the hope of the Company's protection. This was in fact readily granted. The Governor was invited within the boundaries of the Presidency's jurisdiction, with assurances of perfect security to his property, and safety to his person.

Upon

Upon this he moved off with his family, his furniture, and his wealth, carried on a number of elephants, to the town of —, where he now resides.

To the officer who had been the means of procuring him this asylum, he was anxious to shew his gratitude by all possible marks of affection, esteem, and confidence. He declared, that, notwithstanding the difference of their religions, he could not help considering the officer as of kin to his family, of which, under God, *the common father of mankind*, (that was his expression) he had been the Saviour. As the utmost mark of confidence and favour he could bestow, he invited the English gentleman to his Haram, that he might present him to his wives and family. The gentleman was very well pleased with this invitation: but he observed, smiling, that this favour would be a trespass against the laws and customs of his religion, which was the Mahomedan. The generous Mussulman said, that there was no reason why all the world should be made acquainted with what had passed between them: and, for the act itself, if he considered it as a deviation from duty in any degree, he seemed to think it a very venial and light one.

Upon

Upon a certain day, then, at the appointed hour in the forenoon, the officer went to visit his friend, who received him in a large vestibule, attended by a numerous train of servants. He was conducted, by a spacious and elegant staircase, to a gallery that led to the women's apartments, called the Haram, and also in the Gentoo language, the Zenana, which looks into a spacious garden, where the ladies occasionally take the benefit of the fresh air, enclosed with high walls. In certain apartments, at either end of this gallery, there were several females whose business it was to wait on the ladies of the Haram. As soon as the English officer entered within the hall, or what resembled a spacious drawing-room, the whole of the ladies rose up from the rich carpet on which they reclined on cushions of the finest crimson velvet, and inclining their heads towards the ground, paid him the compliment of the salam with inexpressible benignity and grace. Four of these ladies, distinguished by the richness of their apparel, and the ease and dignity of their mien, were in the rank of wives, one of whom seemed to exercise a species of authority, to which the others paid a ready and chearful deference. The other girls, to the number of ten or twelve, served as concubines to their master, and in some respects as handmaids to their mistresses.—They were all of them,

them, those especially who were in the honoured rank of wives, and descended from good families, very great beauties. They were well dressed and highly perfumed: but the exquisite comeliness and elegance of the wives was set off and heightened with costly jewels, which adorned their ears and necks, and arms and ancles, and were stuck in their thick and long black hair, which was braided and turned back in the most graceful manner.

They were aware that this stranger was to be introduced. They had been informed of what he had done for the family, and it was, perhaps, in compliance with their solicitations that he was admitted to their apartments: for, like other females, as afterwards appeared, they possessed great curiosity; and they had never, probably, seen, and certainly never before been present and conversed with a native of Europe; yet, they were not in the least abashed or constrained in their deportment. They were perfectly at their ease, and behaved with great attention and complaisance to the Englishman, as well as complacency towards each other. They invited him, after he was seated on a kind of low sofa, to partake of a collation, consisting of various delicacies, presented from time to time by female slaves, who did not seem to be
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under the influence of any fear or awe, but were, on the contrary, as well as the ladies who were their mistresses, though respectful and submissive, unconstrained and chearful.

The ladies of the Haram, and especially those in the rank of wives, were very inquisitive concerning the people, the customs, and manners of the Fringees;* and especially of the Fringe ladies. One of them asked if England was a large country, and how many gates it had. This was a natural enough question: for what could she reason but from what she knew? The only spot of ground with which she was at all acquainted, was the garden adjoining to the Haram, or at most, the town in which she had formerly, or that in which she now resided.

Another asked him, if it was true that the ladies in his country went openly in the streets, and into mosques, without veils, and in the company of the men: and another, whether the men were confined by the law, to one wife. Many other questions were put concerning European manners and customs. The answers that were given

* FRANKS, the name by which Europeans have been generally known to the nations of the East, since the time of the Crusades, in which the Franks, or French, made the most conspicuous appearance.

given to the English officer appeared so improbable to the ladies, that one of them, who seemed either to possess, or to affect greater penetration than the rest, whispered to one that stood by her, that she was afraid that their *protector*, the title with which they honoured the gentleman, was telling a story.

The master of the house, the common husband of all the ladies, who sat by them all the while, smoking his hooker, laughed very heartily both at their curiosity and unbelief.

It is easy to conjecture that the wives and concubines of this Mahomedan Chief were not so much distinguished as many of our English ladies, by a taste and proficiency in literature. Many of the higher ranks among the Moors, even Princes and Princesses, can neither read nor write. Yet they cannot be said to be wholly uncultivated by letters. Their servants or slaves, both male and female, instructed in the arts of reading, writing, and arithmetic, supply the want of these accomplishments to their lords and ladies, too indolent, or barbarously proud, to submit themselves to any occupation that bears the semblance of application and trouble. The ladies of the Haram that is the subject of these notes, I understood, on enquiry, were frequently entertained by songs,
and

and most extravagant tales, in the oriental manner, such as the Arabian Nights Entertainments, read to them by their handmaidens. In this country the system of the late Lord Chesterfield, who considered it as below a gentleman practise on any musical instrument, is carried to its full extent and completion: for there the fine gentlemen and ladies avoid the labour of musical execution, and of arts and sciences of every kind.

The ladies of the Zenana chuse to be spectators rather than actresses in the operas exhibited for their entertainment. Balladieres, or dancing girls, a class of females, who are allowed to be openly prostituted, are generally entertained in wealthy families, for the amusement of the women. The attitudes, as well as the movements of the Balladieres, are very easy and not ungraceful. Their persons are delicately formed, gaudily attired, and highly perfumed. By the continuation of wanton attitudes, they acquire, as they grow warm in the dance, a frantic lasciviousness themselves, and communicate, by a natural contagion, the most voluptuous desires to the beholders.

The Hindoos, as well as the Persians, Tartars, and adjoining nations, who have inhabited
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Hindoostan since it was conquered by Tamerlane, or Timurbeg, though of different nations, religions, laws, and customs, possess nevertheless, in equal degrees, hospitality, politeness, and address. In refinement and ease they are superior to the people to the westward of them. In politeness and address, in gracefulness of deportment, and speech, an Hindoo is much superior to a Frenchman of fashion as a French courtier is to a Dutch burgo-master. A Frenchman is indeed by no means deficient in ease of carriage; but that ease is mixed with forward familiarity, with confidence, and self-conceit. The Hindoos, especially those of the higher castes, are in their demeanour easy and unconstrained, still more than even a French courtier; but their ease and freedom is reserved, modest, and respectful. A Frenchman is polite because he thinks it his honour to be polite: an Indian, because he thinks it his duty. The former is polite because he regards himself; the latter because he respects you.

Their persons are straight and elegant, their limbs finely proportioned, their fingers long and tapering, their countenances open and pleasant, and their features exhibit the most delicate lines of beauty in the females, and in the males a kind of manly softness. Their walk and gait, as well

as their whole deportment is in the highest degree graceful. The dress of the men is a kind of close-bodied gown, like our women's gowns, and wide trowsers, resembling petticoats, reaching down to their slippers. Such of the women as appear in public, have shawls over their heads and shoulders, exactly such garments, and worn in such a manner as the Scotch plaids, short close jackets, and tight drawers which come down to their ancles. Hence the dress of the men gives them, in the eyes of Europeans, an appearance of effeminacy; whereas that of the women will appear rather masculine; such is the influence of habit and custom on human sentiments; an influence which extends not merely to matters of taste; but, as the ingenious Dr. Smith, in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, observes, to objects of higher importance.

From the difference of castes or classes of the people in Hindostan, I mean the original inhabitants, there arises a difference of education and dress. But even the inferior classes are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic: the youth are taught, not within doors, but in the open air; and it is a singular, but not unpleasing spectacle, to behold, in every village, a venerable old man, reclined on a terraced plain, teaching a number of surrounding boys, who regard him with the

utmost reverence and attention, like a shepherd feeding his flock. In those simple seminaries, where the want of magnificent halls and theatres is *divinely* compensated by the spacious canopy of Heaven, the gentle and tractable sons of the Hindoos are not only prepared for the business, but instructed in the duties of life; a profound veneration for the object or objects of religious worship; reverence of their parents; respect for their seniors; justice and humanity towards all men, but a particular affection for those of their own *caste*.

The Hindoo language is beautiful, expressive, and nervous. In reading and speaking, the Hindoos are very musical. Their speech, like that of the Italians, flows in a kind of numbers.—There is a dead language, understood only by the *literati* of the country, that is, the priests, called the *Sanserit* language, in which their sacred volumes are written; even as our sacred scriptures are written in Greek and Hebrew; but whether that language was originally different from that of the country, or whether it has only *now* become unintelligible to the people, through that change which is incident to all living languages, is, I believe, not well known.

Having already observed, that the genius of the Hindoos is rather imitative than inventive, I need scarcely add, that they have less curiosity in their nature than the European nations; that they do not vary their fashions; and that they are not fond of novelty *beyond the precincts of their Harams*. From the temper and tenets of this people, as well as from several hints in ancient historians, it appears more than probable, that the same kind of garments, of food, of furniture, of buildings, and of manners, which obtained among their progenitors thousands of years ago, actually prevails among the Hindoo tribes at this day. In like manner, the same professions are adhered to by the same families with superstitious exactness. Those professions are exceedingly numerous. This division and subdivision of employment and labour; the vast variety of castes, from the *Bramins* down to the fisherman, is one proof, among many others, of the antiquity of the Hindoo nation, and their progress in the arts. It appears very singular, that the different castes are not only prohibited from intermarrying, but also from eating with one another, and in some instances, even from eating of the same kind of food.

The food of the Hindoos is simple, consisting chiefly of rice, ghee, which is a kind of im-

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perfect

perfect butter, milk, vegetables, and oriental spices of different kinds, but chiefly what is called in the East, *chilly*, and in the West, green or Cayenne pepper. The warrior caste may eat of the flesh of goats, mutton, and poultry, which is dressed into *curreys* and *pilaws* *.—— Their greatest luxury consists in the use of the richest spices and perfumes, of which the great people are very lavish. Their dress, in point of richness, is proportioned to their stations : their pomp and equipage consist in a numerous retinue of servants of various denominations, who attend all their visits and excursions ; in the dresses of those attendants ; the elegance of their palanquins ; and the caparisons of their horses, camels, and elephants. It is superfluous to observe, that in consequence of this multiplicity of different ranks, the Hindoos have the highest ideas of subordination, and

* *Curreys* are a kind of *fricassees* of mutton, fowl, or fish ; the sauce of which is composed of dried vegetables, peculiar to the East, and fine rice, boiled with very little water, introduced on a separate plate : The sauce of the *fricassée* is poured on the rice, and the meat laid above both. The *pilaw* is fine Patna rice dry-boiled, and fried with *ghee*, which has been already described, mixed with various spices, and particularly the *cardamon*, brought in on a large dish, in which is concealed, amidst the rice, a boiled fowl, or part of a kid, or of a lamb.

and pay to their superiors the same ready deference and homage, which they expect themselves from their inferiors.

Their houses cover much ground, and have spacious galleries and accommodations of various kinds. The apartments are small, and the furniture not very elegant, if we except the richest Persian carpets. The grandeur of their palaces consists in baths, perfumes, temples, gods, and harams. The harams are removed from the front of the house, and lighted either from a square space in the center of the whole building, or from a garden behind, enclosed by thick and high walls, fortified, sometimes, with bastions. The apparel of the women is inconceivably rich; they have jewels on their fingers and about their necks, and also in their ears and nostrils, with bracelets not only on their wrists, but on their arms above their elbows, and on their legs around their ancles. *They may be said to be studded with Jewels.*

Although the Hindoos are naturally the most inoffensive of all mortals, yet does their humanity consist more in abstaining from injurious, than in the performance of beneficent actions. There is a wonderful mildness in their manners, and also in their laws, which are influenced by their manners; by which the murder of an
human

human creature, and of a cow, are the only crimes that are punished by death. Yet with all this gentleness of disposition, they are inferior to the boisterous Europeans, with all their vices, in the virtues of compassion and generosity. They are wanting in that tenderness which is the most amiable part of our nature.—They are less affected by the distresses and dangers, and even the accidental deaths of one another, than any nation in the old or new world. Yet they *love* to excess : a proof, either of the inconsistency of the human character ; or that the amorous passion is not derived from the noblest part of our nature.

Although the practice of Hindoo women burning themselves on the funeral piles of their husbands, and embracing in the mean time their dead bodies in their arms, be not so general now as it has formerly been, yet does it still prevail among some of the wives of men of high caste and condition : and although this effort of frantic love, courage, and ambition, be deemed an aggrandisement of the family and relations of both husband and wife, but especially of the wife's, yet their friends and relations constantly endeavour to dissuade the women who declare their resolutions of *burning*, from carrying them in-

to execution. Even the *Bramins* do not encourage this practice.

The causes which inspire the Hindoo women with this desperate resolution, are the following :

In the first place ; as the wife has from her earliest infancy been betrothed in marriage to her husband, and from that time has never been permitted to see another man ; as she is instructed to believe that he is perfectly accomplished, and taught to respect and honour him ; as, after consummation, she is shut up from the company, conversation, and even the sight of other men, with still greater care, if possible, than before, being now debarred from seeing even the father or elder brother of her husband, the bonds of her affection must needs be inconceivably strong and indissoluble. To an European lady, the Zenana naturally appears in the light of an horrible prison : but the daughters of Asia never consider confinement to the Zenana as any hardship.— They consider it as a condition of their existence, and they enjoy all the happiness of which they have any conception ; their whole desires being concentrated and fixed on their husbands, their children, their food, jewels, and female attendants.—There are instances of women making
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ments from the Harams with European gentlemen; but these are not, in general, of the first families, nor free from the imputation of loose behaviour. *How can one Man satisfy the eager craving of several score of Women which would soon exhaust a Town Bull?*

In the second place, if the wife survive her husband, she cannot marry again, and is treated as an inferior person, and an outcast from her family. Nay, she is obliged, in her mournful and hopeless widow-hood, to perform all the offices of a menial servant.

In the third place, she is flattered with the idea of having immortalized her name, and aggrandised her children, and her own and husband's families.

Lastly, she is rendered insensible to the pains and horrors of what she is to suffer, by those intoxicating perfumes and mixtures which are administered to her after she has declared her final and unalterable resolution—I say her final resolution; because one or two declarations of an intention to die with her husband is not sufficient. The strength of her resolution undergoes a probation. There is a certain time prescribed by the Gentoo law, during which her family and friends exert their utmost influence in order to dissuade her from burning; and if she persists in her

resolution to the end of that period, it is not lawful to use any more persuasions with her to abandon it. If she should alter her purpose after that period, she would be punished with the loss of all *castes*, and live in a state of the most complete misery and contempt. Nay, if an European or Christian does but touch her very garment with his finger, when she is going to the pile, an immediate stop is put to the ceremony, she is forced to live an outcast from her family and the Gentoo religion.

It is a natural object of curiosity to know, in what manner, after all these stimulatives to perseverance, the tender sex, among a soft and effeminate people, sustains the near approach of a scene so full of awe and horror. Amidst her weeping relations and friends, the voluntary victim to love and honour alone appears serene and undaunted. A gentle smile is diffused over her countenance; she walks upright, with an easy but firm step; talks to those around her of the virtues of the deceased, and of the joy with which she will be transported when her shade shall meet with his; and encourages her sorrowful attendants to bear with fortitude the *sight* of those momentary sufferings which she herself is about to *feel*. Having ascended the funeral pile, she lays herself down by the body of her husband, which she

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ferrently embraces. A dose of narcotic mixtures is then administered for the last time; and instantly the person, whose office it is, sets fire to the pile.

Thus the most determined resolution, of which we can form any conception, is found in the weaker sex, and in the soft climes of Asia. It is to the honour of that sex and those climes, that the greatest courage they exhibit, is the effect, not of the furious impulses of rage and revenge, but conscious dignity and love.

It might naturally be imagined by an European, that the several wives of one man, for polygamy is general throughout all Asia, would regard one another with mutual jealousy and aversion. This, however, is not always, nor, I have been assured, for the most part, the case. Though each lady has her own separate apartment, they visit one another with great friendship and cordiality; and if they are of the same caste, will occasionally eat together. The husband is sometimes restrained from eating with his wives, either by a regard to custom; or, as I have been informed by some of the Gentoos themselves, by a precept of their religion.

Of these observations the reader will perceive that some are applicable only to those of the
Gentoos

Gentoo religion; but without a notion of certain general customs and sentiments, common to all, it would be difficult to form a just conception of any particular Haram.—With respect to the Haram that was visited by an English officer, I have only to add, that the children of his friend were presented to him, as well as his ladies, and that, at his departure, he was complimented with a diamond ring by one of them, who seemed to be the most favoured and respected Sultana, and with a most graceful and benign salam from the whole. The master of the house observed, with a smile, that he reposed perfect confidence in the gentleman's discretion.

I shall now inform my reader that the English officer here mentioned was no other than the Writer of this Narrative. But, as the other parties are still living, it would be improper to mention names, or be particular as to dates and places.—But, it is time to return from the luxury of Harams to the horrors of our jail.

Sept. 28. Saw forty of the European slaves at drill, under the charge of a black Commandant, very dirty and dejected.

A tom-tom went about this evening forbidding any of the inhabitants to appear in the streets

streets after nine o'clock at night, on pain of losing their noses and ears.

Orders for a morning and evening gun to be fired in all Tippoo's garrisons.

Oct. 1. The two men who were taken at Errode in 1768, Spencer and Wilton, passed our prison this morning, attended by a sentry. They were very indifferently dressed.

The Verduvalla of the guard informs us, that a Bramin of Tippoo's is gone to Madras concerning peace, and that two companies of sepoys of his were in Mangalore, and two of ours in his camp. The Verduvalla thinks matters will be accommodated, as his master's affairs wear but a gloomy aspect, and that he has no confidence in his head men.

2. Several of our ships arrived at Mangalore with troops, and news that peace was broken off.

Three of the men concerned late in the conspiracy, without their noses and ears, and riding on jack-asses, were hanged this morning.

3. The wafherman gives us the melancholy news of Rumley, Frazer, and Sampson, being poisoned at Mysore.

Oct.

Oct. 4. Shiek Rustan, Havaladar, who at one period commanded the guard of our prison, and one in whom we have great confidence, tells us that Rumley, Frazer, and Sampson, are all poisoned; and recommends us to be particularly circumspect in our behaviour, or that we may meet with the same fate.

5. Comrah, Sepoy, a Tanjore man, formerly on our guard, arrived this morning from Kavel Dook, and acquaints us that all the officers confined there have been poisoned by express orders from Tippoo Saib. He believes there were eighteen or twenty of them.

8. Our worthy friend the Paymaster says, that peace is on the eve of being concluded.

11. Visited by the Myar; he particularly enquired for our black Commandant's name, as also the officer's name who commanded the detachment in the Tanjore country, taken by Tippoo the 18th of February, 1782.

12. Received a letter by the washerman from Colonel Braithwaite, telling us that the washerman had kept twelve of the fanams which we sent for the use of poor Captain Leech; as also
of

of the Death of Rumley, Frazer, and Sampson : and that many of General Mathews's officers, confined at Kavel Drook, were dead, and the rest dying.

The washerman, who is our constant toppall, or post, was a Havaladar in Captain Nixon's battalion, and taken prisoner the 10th of September, 1780, and took service in the style of a washerman (the men wash and iron clothes :) of course we had every reason to suppose he would be assisting ; but, on the contrary, he has taken every opportunity to pilfer us, although we have made him frequent presents, and promised him, on our enlargement, a Jemmidar's commission, with a sum of money, provided he would not embezzle those fanams which we, with the utmost difficulty, raised for those in extreme distress.

Colonel Braithwaite applied to the Keeladar for a cot to sleep on, but was refused.

Oct. 13. Lieutenant Butler at the point of death, is allowed, after many applications, to have his irons taken off; and several other gentlemen are dangerously ill.

Oct.

Oct. 21. Sid Abram, our black Commandant, who had been bred up in our service, was this morning ordered to the kutcheree, and there told by the Keeladar that it was Tippoo Saib's orders, that he should enter into his service; as also to give information where his wife and family were, in order that they might be sent for. The Keeladar advised him to take service without any hesitation, and observed, if he did not, that God only knew what would be the consequence. The Commandant was remanded back to our prison, and allowed to reflect on the business.

22. We have made four shirts and four trousers for Captain Leech, and have sent them by the washerman, together with twenty-four fanams. The fanams are put, or worked into the buttons of the shirt, which we have contrived, to deceive the washerman.

24. Seven European artificers arrived here, and forced into Tippoo's service. They were selected from those men taken at Bedanore or Nagram.

27. Mirtojee, the Commanding Officer of the guard placed over our prison, who, by the humanity of his behaviour, had acquired our esteem,

esteem, affection, and even confidence, corroborates the melancholy tidings we had received of General Mathews's officers having, all of them, been carried off by poison, at Kavel Drook, by the express orders of the Sultan; which, he said, was owing to the garrison of Annanpore being all of them put to the sword by one of our European officers. He warned us of a search that was soon to be made in our prison, for what we called contraband goods, such as razors, scissars, knives, and other offensive weapons; and papers, pens, and ink; the means of correspondence and discovery.

The Commanding Officer, to whom the inhuman task of poisoning our men at Kavel Drook was committed, having been often present with them, and of course been moved with compassion, successfully exerted his influence to be removed from that station. The officer who had the charge of our soldiers prison, at Seringapatam, was sent for to Mysore, and appointed in his stead, with an express charge to carry the orders and directions that had been given for poisoning our men, into immediate execution.— This being done, the officer returned to his charge of our soldiers prison at Seringapatam, which he occasionally visited as usual. Certain of our men, who had heard some surmises of the horrid

horrid purpose for which he had been absent, and who were moved with the liveliest inquietude and apprehensions, ventured to put the question to him, Why they had so long been deprived of the honour of his visits? He made not the least scruple to tell them the shocking business in which he had been employed, apologising, at the same time, for his conduct, by observing, that if he had not obeyed orders, he would himself have been put to death.

Oct. 29. Colonel Braithwaite has received a cot and some Margoza bark, from the Keeladar; and was at the same time desired to apply for any thing he wanted. The Colonel requested he might be removed to us, or see the French Doctor, as also to sit on the outside of the prison door during the time his servants were dressing his victuals. The Keeladar to these demands gave an evasive answer.

30. Received the following from Colonel Braithwaite.

“Colonel Braithwaite presents his compliments to the Gentlemen, has received four shirts, four drawers, for Captain Leech, but no pills, meaning fanams, * are to be found. He

* The fanams were put in the buttons; the washerman this time had not an opportunity of delivering them.

"He begs to know how they were sent.—
 "The Colonel takes the liberty to send them
 "a few lines, by way of epitaph, on his late
 "friend Sampson, which he hopes his friends
 "will wear in their hearts, as his destiny de-
 "nies him a tomb-stone. It is the only tribute
 "the Colonel can now pay to the memory of
 "an officer, whom he brought up and loved
 "with parental affection. Should he survive
 "his captivity, he will demand his bones and
 "those of the other gentlemen, who have died
 "here, and carry them to Madras for inter-
 "ment."

SAMPSON here rests his head on hostile earth ;
 A youth to fortune, not to fame unknown :
 The former frowned even at his birth,
 The latter surely mark'd him for her own.
 How great his bravery, let beholders tell :
 Much did he do, and to the last did try.
 Active, amidst out-numb'ring foes he fell—
 Disabled—too luckless then to die !
 A wounded captive in barbarian's chains ;
 Uncommon rigour mark'd his cruel fate ;
 A tyrant's caution caus'd his latest pains ;
 At length he died, a long, long year too late.
 Lay light upon him earth ;—and may his God
 With mercy meet him, and for a reward,
 A youth, who in the walk of honour trod,
 Yet suffer'd here, alas ! a lot too hard.

Nov. 1. Serjeant Higgins (who voluntarily took service) with two other European Mussulmen, have made off to Mangalore from Nagram; but one of the three was unfortunately detected.

2. The European Mussulman taken in endeavouring to make his escape, was shot in Tip-poo's camp; and six more of the European Mussulmen, who were also in his camp, are ordered to Shittle Dook.

3. The Europeans given up by the French were at drill this morning, and attended by four Haval-dars.

All the Europeans who have been made Mussulmen are confined in a large square, and no one is permitted to go out without a sentry.

Our allowance of one fanam per day, (or eleven dubs) is reduced to nine dubs and two cash, a loss of six cash each per day; which affects us in the most serious manner. We shall be puzzled how to exist. Mr. Skardon has received an addition of three cash per day.

4. The European Mussulmen, and black slaves are given in charge of the black officers of cavalry, whom they are to instruct in the infantry

try duty; a most melancholy fight to us. All this is owing to Monsieur Suffrein.

±

The Inchivalla, who was the ring-leader in the conspiracy, still remains in heavy irons, and on low diet.

Nov. 8. About ten this morning, fifty of the European Muffulmen, with firelocks, and a body of native troops, escorted the Keeladar to a mosque, one mile West of the fort.— They were commanded by a black officer, who frequently, in our hearing, called out to them, as they were passing our prison, *Chillow Fringee Banchut*,* with other expressions of insolence and contempt.

9. The Paymaster informs us, that Mangalore is given up, in consequence of peace; that Tippoo is to be here in eight days; and that an officer of rank is on his way from Madras, in order to receive the prisoners. The Paymaster has assured us in the strongest manner, that the above information is undoubted, and requests

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that

* Go on, ye Fringees or Franks.

Banchut, signifies literally *puerum sororis tuæ*! an expression of contumely, pretty familiar to the Blackguards of Hindostan. The Billingsgate of Eastern nations, in general, delights in allusions to the nakedness of parents and nearest relations.

that we would, on our enlargement, make him a small salam, which he intends to appropriate to his daughter's marriage.* This good man is de-

* In Hindostan the expence of clothes is almost nothing; and that of food, firing, and lodging, to the native, very trifling. The Hindoos are not addicted to any expensive vices, their passions and desires being gentle and moderate. Yet they are frugal and industrious, and as eager to amass riches as any of the natives of Europe. A Jew, a Dutchman, or a Scotch pedlar, is not more attentive to profit and loss. What is the reason of this? They are lovers of splendour and magnificence in every thing, but particularly in what relates to their women. It is in their Harams, but especially on occasion of their marriages, that they pour forth the collected treasures of many industrious years. It may also be proper to observe here, that the good man, who had expressed a concern for the due celebration of his daughter's marriage, had in his eye, and even knew for certain, the family and the youth to whom she was to be married.

Marriages are contracted by boys and girls, and consummated as soon as they arrive at puberty; that is, when the men are from twelve to thirteen years of age, and the women nine or ten. The marriage ceremony is performed three times; once, when the couple are mere infants; a second time, when the gentleman may be about eight or nine years old, and the lady five or six; and the third and last time, at the age I have already specified. Between the first and second marriage ceremonies, the young couple are allowed to see one another: they run about and play together as other children do; and knowing they are destined

for

deserving of every thing we can do for him, as he has, on every occasion, shewn humanity and attention towards us.

The Paymaster's news corroborated from all quarters.

Six o'clock. P. M. departed this life, Lieutenant Butler. This unfortunate man was sick for near six months, and although the two Myars saw his wretched situation, and repeated applications were made to the Keeladar for medicines,

L 3

and

for each other, commonly conceive, even at that early period, a mutual affection. But after the second time of marriage, they are separated from each other; the bride especially if she be a person of condition, being shut up in the women's apartment until the happy day of the third and last ceremony, when the priest sprinkles on the bride and bridegroom abundance of rice, as an emblem of fruitfulness.

These early contracts are undoubtedly well calculated to inspire the parties with a mutual and lasting affection. The earliest part of life is in every country the happiest; and every object is pleasing that recalls to the imagination that blessed period. The ductile minds of the infant lovers are easily twined into one; and the happiest time of their life is associated with the sweet remembrance of their early connection. It is not so with your brides and bridegrooms of thirty, forty, and fifty: they have had previous attachments; the best part of life is past before their union, perhaps before they ever saw each other.

and a little pia arrack, yet the cruel barbarian gave no kind of assistance, but allowed him to linger out a life of misery and wretchedness.

Nov. 9. The service was this morning read over the late Lieutenant Butler, who was carried out as decently as the prison would admit of.

The Keeladar sent for the effects of the late Lieutenant Butler, consisting of a few old rags. The Verduvalla took as much care in examining them, as if they had been of the utmost consequence.

10. Preparations making, such as white-washing the houses, cleaning the streets, &c. in order to receive Tippoo Sulran Bahadar.

An officer of rank expected here to-morrow, to receive the prisoners: A choultry and pandall* fitted up for his reception, one mile north of the fort, at a village called Soomer Pettah.

12. The European Muffulmen were at drill this morning, and mixed in the ranks with the black

* A kind of portico for making the choultry cooler, formed by wooden poles, and the leaves and branches of trees.

black slaves. They and the black slaves had their right ears bored, in order to wear the Mahomedan badge of slavery, which is a silver pearl.

Nov. 15. Colonel Braithwaite passed our prison, on his return from the Keeladar. He was well dressed, and under charge of one Havaldar and twelve sepoy, with fixed bayonets. Several of us were so rejoiced at seeing him, that they forgot their situation, and called out to him by name, through holes they had bored through the wall of the prison. The Colonel was astonished, and some of the prisoners disapproved of this conduct of their companions. But their emotions were so lively, that they could not be restrained.

Various and uncertain accounts of peace ; one moment we are informed that peace is finally concluded ; the next, there is fighting ; and in this miserable situation are we daily tortured with alternate hopes and fears, which produce a state of anxious and painful suspense.

The Corakees have defeated a party of Tippoo Saib's troops at Perripatam, nineteen miles West of this, and a reinforcement of Chaylahs and Colleries are ordered from hence to reinforce them.

Nov. 16. The reduction of our allowance of the fix cash, has so materially affected our mode of living, that we are obliged now to breakfast on two cash of conjee and two cash of milk. Two dinners in the week of doll pepper-water, each dinner nine cash; one ditto of kutcheree, twelve cash, two mutton curreys, and two soup dinners.

17. Forty Europeans and two battalions of black slaves, with firelocks, (no bayonets) marched out of the fort at two o'clock in the afternoon, in order to be reviewed by the Keeladar; the European slaves were divided in the ranks with the Chaylahs, very dirty, and but indifferently dressed. Some had handkerchiefs on their heads, others turbans, and from their mid-thigh downwards they were entirely naked. Surely no situation on earth is equal to theirs: however, we flatter ourselves, that whenever we meet with that happy hour of liberty, and their case is made known, every step will be taken in order to recover them from slavery and Mahomedanism. The Europeans and black slaves have all a silver pearl in their right ear.

The Keeladar with the slaves, returned at eleven this night.

Nov.

Nov. 18. Colonel Braithwaite informs us by letter, that he has only received twenty fanams from the washerman on account of Captain Leech. The washerman has taken the remainder: this villain's cunning outreaches all our schemes. The Colonel and Ensign Holmes's allowance reduced to nine dubs and two cash each per day, and Captain Leech and the Serjeant are raised to ten cash each. The Colonel daily sends Captain Leech a fix cash breakfast.

Five Europeans, handcuffed, arrived prisoners from the Durma country.

19. Received the following from Colonel Braithwaite

“ When I got near the Keeladar's house, a
“ man came out in a great hurry and seeming
“ agitation, to say it was a mistake, and or-
“ dered me back. In repassing your prison-
“ house, I heard you say, by G—d there's Co-
“ lonel Braithwaite: upon which I answered in
“ some such exclamation. I had a very pleasant
“ walk, and saw much of the city, which is the
“ finest I have seen in India. Soon after I got back
“ to my dungeon, two or three persons came from
“ the kutcheree, to tell me, whatever clothes
“ or money I wanted, to ask and I should have.
“ I said

"I, said, whatever the Nabob allowed me I
"would receive; if ten pagodas a day I would
"spend them; if ten cash, I would live upon
"it. I would ask for no money; clothes I should
"be glad of. Three pieces of tolerable cloth
"for shirting has been sent me; they say a
"taylor is to come to-day. This change in
"regard to me looks well. Two pressed tay-
"lors are come; they pretend they cannot do
"my work; but I believe the chaubuck will
"teach them. I have seriously declared I will
"not pay them."

Nov. 20. Our good friend Mirtojee says,
that peace is certainly broken off.

The Commandant asked the Verduvalla for
news. He gave him for answer, that the news
was very cold.

Captain Judson has received thirteen pago-
das by the hands of an old woman, come to Se-
ringapatam in search of her son, a sepoy in our
service, which was sent with a letter, by Mrs.
Judson, his wife, from Trichinopoly. The
old woman, ever since the fatal battle near Con-
jeveram, had wandered in a continual state of
pilgrimage, not being able to rest long in one
place, under the anxious and tender concern that

inwardly preyed on her maternal breast. After visiting every place that report had suggested as the probable scene of her son's confinement, if in life, she at last made her way to Seringapatam, where she found him; and we all of us participated in her joy. The woman faithfully delivered the money which Mrs. Judson had committed to her care, to our servants, whom she found at the well, where they attended daily to fetch water, and which had become a kind of post-office. Mrs. Judson, we were sometimes inclined to think, must have received by some means or other, a description of the well. But if this had been so, how could we account for the Commanding Officer at Trichinopoly's not taking the same opportunity of correspondence that was embraced by Mrs. Judson. The attention of Government, indeed, could not well be expected to equal the cares of maternal and conjugal affection.

This is the only letter or money received in Hyder's country from our friends.

Nov. 21. Captain Judson receives through the old woman a letter from Mrs. Judson, dated the 14th of last month, in answer to one he wrote in February last, acquainting him that he might

might expect to be supplied from time to time with money, and that there was a talk of peace.

Nov. 27. The guard that was stationed over the unfortunate European officers, prisoners at Kavel Drook, returned here three days ago, and gave us the melancholy account of all General Mathews's officers being poisoned.

A Circar Verduvalla, with armourers, this morning, particularly examined our irons. The Verduvalla corroborated the account we had received of the dreadful catastrophe of the officers at Kavel Drook; as also of Rumley, Frazer, and Sampson, at Mysore; and said that he made no doubt but that the Nabob would poison all the English prisoners.

Several thousands of troops, and most of them Carnatic people, are drilling here, for the cavalry, artillery, and infantry. Tippoo copies our mode of discipline in every respect.

Dec. 1. The nine slave-boys, who attend the Derroga, are intended for the Nabob's family.

4. Arrived prisoners, twenty Europeans, and two European women, chained two and two.

Dec.

Dec. 5. Arrived prisoners, twelve Europeans, chained two and two; they were shipwrecked on the Malabar coast.

10. The Subadar who impeached the conspirators is made a Commandant of Colleries, and has received many other favours from the Nabob: we have a part of his battalion over us, and he frequently visits the prison, and seems very anxious to enter into a conversation; however, as he has been particularly pointed out to us, by some of our friends, we act with caution.

Colonel Braithwaite acquaints us, that he has repeatedly applied to the Keeladar for a greater allowance, and for taylors, but without success,

12. A European officer, who was taken prisoner on this coast, about two months after the fall of Nagram, and sent here, is circumcised and appointed Commandant to a battalion of Chaylahs: we have not been able as yet to learn any thing farther concerning this unfortunate man.

19. This evening, the whole of the European Muffulmen were marched to Myfore, seven miles south.

Dec.

Dec. 21. Received from the Keeladar two banyans, two short drawers, and a sheet; they were made of the coarsest dungeree, and the same quality as delivered out to the black slaves, so very unfit for our purpose, that we begged of the Verduvalla to return them, and endeavour to procure us a piece of cloth each in their stead: the cloth to be about four or five fanams per piece. On the Verduvalla's reporting this to the Keeladar, he replied, Very well, that we might wait a few days. Strange are the conjectures which are formed concerning this present, as it is the only instance of generosity we have met with from that quarter, during our imprisonment: it has made a number of gentlemen melancholy—apprehensive of force to take service. Not like peace.

. 22. Many of our guards assure us, that we are all to be circumcised, and taken into the Nabob's service; and that the dungeree we received yesterday was given in consequence of that resolution.

Captain Judson has sent two pagodas to Colonel Braithwaite.

Sent by the washerman Captain Leech's supply, thirty-one fanams. A current report of peace,


peace, and that our ambassadors from Madras are only a few days march from this.

Received a letter from Colonel Braithwaite, acquainting us that he has only received twenty-four fanams for Captain Leech.

Dec. 29. Reports of our ambassadors being at Malvaree, twelve cofs N. E. of this place; that they have applied to the Keeladar to send us money and clothes; but that the Keeladar would not comply with their request, as he observed that he had no *bookum*, or order, from the Nabob.

The Europeans who were taken at, or near Calicut, about two months ago, and sent here, are forced into the barbarian's service as stone-cutters.

31. The Verduvalla, by an order from the Keeladar, told Sid Abram that he must consent to enter into the Nabob's service, and give an account where his wife and family were, that they might be sent for. The Commandant replied, that he had, from his boyish days, been brought up amongst the English, had met with every attention and encouragement that a soldier merited, and that he would on no account give in.



information where his wife and family were, nor would he consent to enter into the Nabob's service.

A message, or salam, from Meer Nazer Ally, formerly an officer in our service, but who had fallen prisoner and taken service, to Sid Abram, that peace was certainly concluded, and applauding him for his steady conduct in refusing to take service. Meer Nazer Ally was a Subadar in Captain Mac Alister's regiment of cavalry, and taken prisoner with Lieutenant Crewitzer; he now commands a regiment of cavalry, and is doing duty here.

1784.—Jan. 13. Our guards doubled, and the centinels particularly vigilant. A report prevails that we are all to be put to death.

14. The whole of us turned out in order to be mustered by a Subadar sent by the Keeladar.

22. Abdull Ruffell, Commandant to Captain Alcock's battalion, and taken prisoner with Colonel Braithwaite, was sent to Arneé and thrown into heavy irons, on three cash per day, and one seer of raggee, because he would not enter into the barbarian's service: many others, for the same reason, were treated in the same manner,

manner, until they consented to take service, and send for their families.

Jan. 24. A European boy, about twelve years of age, informed our servants at the well this evening, that he belonged to his Majesty's thirty-second or forty-second regiment, that he was taken prisoner at Nagram, and since circumcised. His name is Lindfey.

27. The Inchivalla was this morning publicly flogged, near our prison, and his back rubbed with chillies, or Cayenne pepper.

Arrived from Mangalore, thirty elephants with their howdars.

29. The nine circumcised European boys still remain under the charge of the Derroga; two of them were this morning on the terrace of Tip-poo Saib's house: they made signals that the Nabob would be here in fifteen days, and that we should then be released. We were greatly affected by their repeated melancholy signs of their situation; on their retiring they shed a flood of tears, and took off their turbans.

An increase of our allowance, of one cash per day, owing to the exchange of the fanam.

M

Feb.

Feb. 1. Arrived from Mangalore eight elephants, with their howdars; a species of frame fixed to the elephant for sitting on—a little tent with curtains.

2. The Europeans who were shipwrecked, and arrived here in December, are chained two and two, with the daily allowance of one seer of rice and two pice each.

4. At four this evening five of the European boys under the charge of the Derroga were on the terrace of Tippoo's house, and made many tokens of their wretched situation.

The whole of us turned out, in order to be mustered by the Myar and a Bramin, as also our servants.

Visited by the Myar and a Bramin, who took our names, together with those of our servants. Many gentlemen alarmed on this occasion.

We have dispatched a letter by the watherman to the unfortunate men who arrived here a few days ago, requesting to know in what manner they fell into the enemy's hands, and offering our assistance in money, to the amount of fifty fanams.

Received the following from one of them, Mr. Lilly,

“ I HAVE been in prison going on seven months. We were brought up here during the cessation of arms in irons, upon one pice and one seer of rice per day ; upon our arrival here, they gave us two pice per day, and put all in irons, only two men who were ill, and they excused me. There is no officer here, only one surgeon, a foreigner, whose name is King, and one who follows the civil line ; and I was taken as I came to buy a ship at Mangalore. There are fourteen European foldiers, besides about thirty sepoy, that were cast away in a gale of wind, who were taken as prisoners.

“ LILLY.”

Mr. Lilly's letter not proving satisfactory, we have in consequence forwarded another.

Feb. 13. Fourteen Subadars, or Captains, and a number of sepoy, have been carrying mud for many months past : a drudgery intended to force them into the Sultan's service.

14. A European boy informed our servants at the well this evening, that he, with nine more,

M 2

were

were taken prisoners at Nagram; that they were drummers and fifers of his Majesty's 101st and 102d regiments; that they had been circumcised; and were at present under the charge of the head Derroga, Haffin Ally Cawn. The boy earnestly requested of the servants, that they would inform us, that they were used barbarously; and hoped that, upon our enlargement, we would take an active part in representing to the government of Madras their wretched situation.

Feb. 15. Our servants again saw the European boy at the well, and assured him, by our desire, that every exertion in our power should be made on our enlargement; and requested an account of himself and comrades, in writing.—He replied, that none of them could write.

19. Sixty-seven circumcised Europeans are at Myfore. Messrs Speediman, Rutledge, Serjeant-major Groves, with several others, still remain at Gunjum Pettah.

Received the following from Mr. Lilly.

“Gentlemen,

“The cessation of arms took place with Tip-
“poo Saib the 2d of August, for four months.

“We

“ We were sent up here before the expiration of
“ it. I cannot tell how they managed the other
“ part of the negotiation. The negotiators for
“ peace were not arrived in camp when we came
“ away; but it is certain they arrived here the 25th
“ of December: they expected them in camp when
“ we came away. Tippoo carried his guns to
“ the brink of the ditch; he attempted storming
“ twice, and was repulsed with great loss; they
“ were so close in some places, that our people
“ threw fourteen inch shells over the breast-work
“ out of their hands upon the French. The
“ sea don't wash the walls of Mangalore. Two
“ thousand Europeans have arrived from Europe
“ last year. General Stewart commands at Ma-
“ dras. The first battalion of sepoys was taken
“ at Nagram, but Captain Bowles went up to
“ Bombay before they were taken. I am exceed-
“ ingly obliged to you for your kind offer. I am
“ not in want of cash at present; if I should, I'll
“ make bold to trouble you; but we are all in
“ expectation of being released in a few days, as
“ we have been mustered twice, and our names
“ taken, to send to Tippoo, in order for our en-
“ largement.

“ Mr. King thanks you for your kind offer;
“ he is not much in want of cash as yet; he has
“ not a grain of tartar emetic, but can send you

"some epicacuana, with some bark, if you should want it."

14th February.

A subscription of twenty-eight fanams, in order to requite the washerman for the letters carried to and from Mr. Lilly,

The subscriptions of late have come so heavy on us, that we are obliged to make four dinners in the week of rice and ghee, each dinner seven cash.

Feb. 21. Two sepoy, who are at present attached to our guard, have given us the melancholy accounts of our brother sufferers at Kavel Drook. They say, that the Keeladar of Kavel Drook received orders from the Bahadar to dispatch the whole of them by poison; that the Keeladar made no secret, but explained his orders, and observed, that unless they were instantly put into execution, his own life would pay for his disobedience. The first he called positively refused to taste the poison. The Keeladar instantly ordered several Caffres to seize and tie him up to a tamarind tree. After being most severely flogged, he at last consented to drink the finishing draught. Many others were flogged and inhumanly treated, on account of their opposition.

The

The sepoy observed, that the scenes of distress, after the poison began to operate, were beyond description; some being perfectly insensible, others thrown into violent convulsions, and others employing the few moments they had to live in committing themselves to God, and in embracing and taking a last farewell of their companions and friends. Immediately after the whole were dispatched, the armourers knocked off their irons, and their bodies were then thrown into a wood as a prey for tygers,

Feb. 27. Wrote to Mr. Lilly, requesting he would be circumspect in writing, as a detection might prove fatal to us all.

29. Report of Tippoo's having got possession of Mangalore by stratagem; this has damped our prospect, and diffused gloomy ideas.

Received some medicine from Mr. Lilly, brought by the washerman, for which we gave him two fanams.

March 1. The whole of us ordered to fall in, in order to be mustered by a Myar and a Bramin: they say that peace is broken off, and that we are to be sent to Kavel Drook.

2. In consequence of yesterday's information, relative to our being sent to Kavel Drook, the whole of us have seriously and unanimously determined to avail ourselves of the first opportunity to make our escape, by murdering the whole of our guards, and selling every drop of blood as dear as possible; being thoroughly convinced, that if we submit tamely, we shall, on our arrival at Kavel Drook, be dispatched in the same manner as General Mathews's officers.

One of the circumcised European boys informed our servants at the well, this morning, that peace is broken off.

March 7. Received the following letter from the soldier's prison, written by a black man; the same who had been interpreter to the Keeladar of the above-mentioned particulars respecting the death of General Mathews.

“ Since my arrival here, I have instructed myself to learn English, from a spelling-book which I purchased from a European, which is now entirely broke to pieces; I therefore humbly beg the favour, if you have any book, of any sort, to spare, to send me by the bearer, that will be a means of my not losing what little I have learned. I must inform you, that
“ my

“ my teacher, Serjeant Hillingsworth, departed
“ this life about twelve months ago. The Eu-
“ ropeans taken with Colonel Baillie join with
“ me in their duty to you, and all their officers.
“ Serjeant Brazier sends his duty to Captains
“ Menteith and Wragg, and to inform them,
“ that there is himself and eleven privates re-
“ maining here : Serjeant Macormick deceased
“ the 29th of December, 1782. All the news we
“ have is, that it is a peace, and that some of our
“ gentlemen are with the Nabob, and expected
“ here daily. At about eight or nine months ago,
“ a poor distressed European woman, with a fine
“ boy, and big with child, taken in Nagram, be-
“ longing to a Serjeant of grenadiers of the hun-
“ dredth regiment ; since which she has been de-
“ livered of a girl : her allowance is one pice
“ and one feer and a half of rice per day. About
“ six months ago, twenty-seven Europeans, of
“ the different regiments, were taken on the
“ Malabar coast, and sent amongst us, which
“ makes in all sixty-two Europeans : our allow-
“ ance is two pice and one feer of rice per day.
“ VANKATACHELLIEM.”

The guards acquaint us, that several black pri-
soners have been taken out in the dead of the
night, and murdered, and that they seriously
felt for our situation.

In

In consequence of the miserable situation of the European woman and her two infants, we have raised, with the utmost difficulty, twenty gold fanams; and at the same time have assured her, that we will, on every occasion, be assisting.

March 7. At nine o'clock, P. M. Sid Abram, our black Commandant, was, by an order from the Keeladar, removed from our prison. This truly good man was exceedingly affected at his being separated from us, and frequently requested, that whenever we should be enlarged, we would remember him to his wife and mother; as he never would consent to enter into the barbarian's service, which would, of course, prevent him from ever seeing his family.

9. Sid Abram, with twelve other black officers, taken prisoners since the commencement of the war, are all in irons, with the daily allowance of three cash and one seer of raggee.

One of our gentlemen alarmed us all exceedingly by a fit of insanity, during which he raved on the subjects that most concerned us all, and that were uppermost in our minds. He had been afflicted with several fits before this time; but we always endeavoured to conceal his situation from the Havaladar of the guard, being apprehensive that

that he would have him removed from our prison to some place of confinement, which solitude, and perhaps other circumstances, might render still more dismal. This day, however, he was extremely ill; and made repeated application to the Havalдар to have an interview with the Keeladar, to whom, he said, he had something to communicate of the last importance.— This alarmed us exceedingly: for when we reflected on the constant fears of the barbarians, lest we should make our escape either by force or fraud, or find means of communicating some useful intelligence to our countrymen, and at the same time considered that so many of our officers, soldiers, and sepoy, had been slaughtered in cold blood, by the sword, or forced to die by poison; there was not a doubt that the discovery of our utensils, our correspondence with the other prisons, and some parts of our conversation, would be followed by certain and speedy death. We judged it expedient, in the present extremity, however much against our inclinations, to acquaint the Havalдар that he was really insane. This the Havalдар would not believe; but affirmed, that we all of us told lies, as he concluded, he said, from the circumstance that the gentleman discoursed to him with perfect reason and propriety. The insane person, unfortunately for us, spoke the Mahomedan language with

with great fluency : if he had not, we could have told our own story.

We endeavoured to reason with the Haval-dar, and mentioned many particulars in our own vindication, in vain. We then requested that our servants might be called, and examined whether they had not frequently perceived him in a state of insanity before this time. They were accordingly called, and they confirmed every thing that we had said. The Haval-dar then said, that he believed there was some truth in what we had asserted, but that he must make a report of what had happened. We entreated of him to make as favourable a report as possible, as we would be exceedingly happy if our fellow-officer, though unhappily disordered in his understanding, should be removed from us.

The Haval-dar requested, and insisted with him to declare what he had to say. But this he refused to do, again and again, saying that he would not communicate the important business to any other person than the Keeladar, and that he would be revenged on the whole of us, as we were a set of villains and rascals, and that we had made many attempts to poison him. In fact, he had frequently entertained ideas of this kind,
and

and would often attend and overlook the servants, while they were employed in dressing the victuals. It was fortunate for us, and the circumstance, beyond all doubt, which under Providence, saved our lives, that his madness turned upon poison, and not upon our having papers, journals, knives, scissars, and other things concealed, and, above all, on our secret correspondence with the other prisons.

Several gentlemen endeavoured to reason with this unhappy man, to no purpose. In the course of the evening, the Havaladar waited on the Keeladar, to acquaint him, that an English officer, in one of the prisons, wished anxiously to see him, having something to communicate to him of the greatest consequence. The Havaladar was desired to come again to the Keeladar next morning.

From the time that the insane person applied to the Havaladar, we were busily employed in burning papers, digging holes in the ground, in which we might hide things, and in putting things under the tiles of the prison, until we should have an opportunity of burning them afterwards. During the course of the evening we burned upwards of one hundred sheets of paper, which we had got in by stealth, in order to amuse

our-

ourselves by learning different languages.* The people who brought in those things were equally alarmed with us, and dreaded the fatal consequences of a discovery.

The insane person, with a pair of irons of about eight pounds in weight, began to walk about in the prison at five o'clock in the evening, and continued to walk, at a great pace, without ceasing, till two o'clock in the morning, raving all the while, and vowing vengeance against his fellow-prisoners. The state of our minds, on that horrible night, is not to be described. It was proposed at one time to put him instantly to death, and, by that sacrifice, to save the lives of the whole. But kind Providence saved him from that fate, and us from that fatal deed.

At last the wished-for morning came, and about eight o'clock the Havalдар was announced. Our emotions were now wrought up to the highest point of anxiety and suspense. The Havaldar

* In Hindostan the children of the common people are taught reading and arithmetic in the open air: and they learn to distinguish the letters and figures they use by forming them with their own hands, either in the sand or on boards. Others form their figures, letters, words, and sentences on paper.

dar, coming forward into the prison yard, called out for the insane gentleman. The question on which our safety or destruction now hung in suspense, was, Is the insane person to be carried before the Keeladar or no? Our joy was extreme when we heard the Havalдар tell him, that if he had any thing to say, the Keeladar had ordered that he should mention it to him. Yet still there was reason to apprehend that he might make such discoveries as the Havalдар could not pass over, though he was naturally humane, had taken a present, and was inclined to save us. We therefore, during the course of the conversation which he held with the Havalдар, crowded around him, spoke in a threatening tone of voice, used menacing looks and gestures, and did every thing to embarrass him, and excite his madness. To the Havalдар, who repeatedly put the question, What have you to discover? he constantly replied, that he would not reveal it but to the Keeladar, and poured forth at the same time indefinite reproaches of murderous intentions towards himself against his fellow-prisoners. The Havalдар then told him that he was a fool, and desired that he would go about his business, meaning that he should retire to his cell.

We then requested of the Havalдар, that when he should be relieved, he would report to the
Com-

Commanding Officer who should succeed him, the insanity of our fellow-prisoner. If we had used this precaution at first, we might have avoided this dreadful scene. But we had compassion on the infirmity of this poor man, which was brought on by long confinement, lowness of spirits, and the melancholy prospect of death, or perpetual slavery.

We felt as much joy at being freed from this dangerous embarrassment, as if we had been set at entire liberty. The insane person had in his possession copies of many letters, with papers, knives, and other contraband things. These we wished above all things to get out of his hands. And, after this violent fit of insanity, he fortunately recovered so far, in the course of a few days, as to be reasoned into the propriety of giving up or destroying those suspicious articles. He behaved pretty well during the remainder of our confinement. He is now on half pay.

A current report that peace is broken off, and that our ambassadors have embarked for Telli-cherry.

Raised by public subscription twenty-eight fanams, which we sent by a trusty hand to our good friend Sid Abram.

Sid Abram acknowledges the receipt of the money, and is very thankful.

For these four preceding nights, many black prisoners have been murdered, and a report at present prevails, that they intend visiting our prison for the same end.

We learned afterwards, from undoubted authority, that Lieutenant Mathews, of the Bengal Establishment, brother to General Mathews, and Lieutenant Weldon, of the Bombay Establishment, were, by orders of Tippoo, taken out of the fort at Bednore, at ten o'clock at night, carried to the Jungle, a place over-grown with long grass and underwood, and there cut to pieces: of which the officers confined at Bednore received the most certain accounts the next morning, when the clothes of these unfortunate victims were brought to them for sale. Directions had, in fact, been sent by the Sultan to murder all the English officers in the different prisons in his dominions, who would not enter into his service: but intelligence being received that Commissioners for negotiating the treaty of peace had set out for Madras, these bloody orders were countermanded.

The following is a list of the officers who were poisoned with General Mathews.

King's Officers.

Captain Dougald Campbell, of the 98th regiment.

Captain Alston, of the 100th regiment.

Captain Fish, ditto.

Mr. Gifford, surgeon's assistant, ditto.

Company's Establishment at Bombay.

Brigadier-General Mathews.

Lieutenant Young, Brigade-Major.

Major Fewtrill.

Captain Clift.

Captain Gottick.

Lieutenant Barnwell.

Captain Jackson, artillery.

Lieutenant Olivier, ditto.

Captain Richardson, 3d battalion of sepoy.

Capt. Eames, 5th battalion ditto.

Captain Lendrum, 11th ditto.

Capt. M'Culloch, 15th ditto.

Charles Stewart, Esq. Commissary.

Charles Cheek, Esq. deputy ditto.

From the foldiers prison.

“ On the 27th October, the Keeladar sent for
“ Vankatachelliem, our linguist, and told him to
“ acquaint

"acquaint us all, that the Nabob and Compa-
 "ny had made peace, and that we would soon
 "be sent to Madras. The whole of us at that
 "time were hand-cuffed two and two together.
 "Soon after, the Keeladar came into the prison,
 "and ordered the hand-cuffs to be taken off.—
 "We were shut up together, at that time, about
 "twelve o'clock at night, and remained so forty
 "days. About four months ago, in the dead of
 "the night, we received the second alarm of
 "that kind. We were hand-cuffed singly, both
 "hands, since which the Bramin has been four
 "different times to enquire for mechanics,
 "taken all our names down, our pay, batta, and
 "rank in the Company's service, which makes us
 "all very uneasy, as we cannot imagine what
 "they want to do with us. Another fresh alarm,
 "that there has been a number of black priso-
 "ners taken and massacred, which is transacted
 "every night. We hear that a Commandant
 "and some sepoy, belonging to Colonel Braith-
 "waite's detachment, have suffered the above
 "fate."

March 18. A letter from Colonel Braithwaite,
 acknowledging the receipt of seventeen fanams,
 for the use of Captain Leech.

19. Sent Captain Leech a supply of eighteen fanams. The Subadars who were confined with him, as also General Mathews's servant, are removed.

22. Ten o'clock, P. M. visited by the Myar and a Bramin, who ordered Captains Baird, Menteth, and Lindsey's irons to be knocked off.— These gentlemen were removed from our prison, under the charge of one Havalдар and two sepoy's.

Three o'clock, P. M. the Havalдар returns, and acquaints us, that the three gentlemen are at present with Colonel Braithwaite; that they were removed to him in consequence of peace; and that we should, in all probability, have our irons knocked off in a day or two, and be sent to Madras. Little credit is given by us to this piece of information, having been so frequently disappointed before; and we are very uneasy, and very apprehensive that they intend very unfair means with Colonel Braithwaite, and indeed the whole of us, as reports have been current for many days, that Tippoo Saib intends murdering the whole of the European prisoners.

While we were in this gloomy state of mind, and ready to sink under the pressure of melancholy

choly and black despair; behold, within the walls of our dismal dungeon, a Bramin sent from Tippoo Sultan, with a formal intimation of the final conclusion of peace! and that our irons were to be knocked off the next day.—The emotions that sprung up in our breasts on receiving this intelligence were so strong and lively, and raised to such a point of elevation and excess as almost bordered on pain!—We gave vent to the ardour of our minds in the loudest as well as most irregular and extravagant expressions of congratulations.—The whole prison resounded with the frantic voice of sudden as well as excessive joy and exultation. This tumult having in some degree subsided, though we were incapable of entire composure and rest, a proposal was made, and most readily embraced, to collect all the ready money in our possession, without the least regard to equal shares or proportions, and to celebrate the joyful news of our approaching deliverance with some plantain fritters and sherbet; the only articles of luxury we could then command, on account of our extreme poverty. By nine o'clock at night supper was announced, consisting of sixty dozen of plantains, and a large chatty of sherbet. Every one being seated on the ground, the repast was received with the utmost content and satisfaction. Friends and toasts were drank as long as our

chatty stood out ; and such was the agitation of our minds, that there was not one of us who felt the least inclination, or indeed, who possessed the power to compose himself for sleep. We now waited with the utmost impatience for the return of day, and were impressed with a strong desire that our irons might be knocked off immediately ; but, to our great mortification, about seven in the morning, there arrived only one armourer. Every one struggled to have his fetters knocked off first. Promises, threats, bustling and jostling ; every expedient that could be imagined, was put in practice, in order to obtain that which would come unsought for in the course of a few minutes, or hours at furthest. The same men who had suffered the rigours of imprisonment, and the menaces of a barbarous policy, with invincible resolution and patience, as well as with mutual sympathy and complaisance, for years, were so transported at the near prospect of liberty, that the delay of a few moments seemed now to be more insupportable than even the tedious languor of our long, most alarming, and anxious confinement. Between two and three in the afternoon, our irons were all knocked off, and then we were conducted, under the charge of a guard, to the Keeladar. In crossing the parade, to Hyder's palace, several European boys, in the Mahomedan drefs,

drefs, who had been forcibly circumcised, came near to us, imploring our assistance in a most distressful manner. The only consolation we could give them, was to assure them, that whenever we arrived at Madras, their melancholy situation should be faithfully and feelingly described to the Governor, in order to procure their enlargement. We were now brought before the Keeladar, who was lodged in Hyder's palace, and sat in a veranda, surrounded by his guards. Our names being taken down, with our rank, and other circumstances, we were conducted to Colonel Braithwaite's prison, where we found the Colonel, Captains Baird, Lindsey, Menteith, and Ensign Holmes. Here we remained several hours, and were in a most friendly manner supplied by these gentlemen with money, which gave us an opportunity of rewarding those good men who had at different times been on our guard. Towards the close of the evening, after the soldiers and black prisoners were collected, we moved off from the fort to Soomner-Pettah, a village distant about two miles. On our arrival at the choultry of this place, we had an opportunity of conversing with our soldiers.— Their marks of affection, respect, and joy, at meeting with their officers, after so long a separation, were not less sincere than extravagant. The sight of the country, the fair

face of nature, in a rich and delicious climate, from which we had been so long excluded, excited in our minds the most various and pleasing emotions, and struck us all with the force of novelty. At the same time, it may not be thought unimportant to observe, that we had lost, in some degree, that intuitive discernment of the magnitude and relations of objects, which is the effect of experience, habit, and the association of ideas. At Soomner Pettah, we were indulged with permission to walk about in the bazar, and to bathe in the river, a most delicious as well as salutary refreshment. Every object, and every recreation became now a source of exquisite satisfaction and delight; all that satiety and indifference to the bounty of nature, which arises from undisturbed possession, and perhaps still more from vicious habits, being effectually overcome and destroyed by the painful purification of months added to months, in a succession that threatened to terminate either in perpetual slavery or death.

March 25. Having received no allowance of rice, or the three pice for the preceding day, we asked for some victuals; and some hours after, a seer of rice, and three pice, were delivered to each person. We were amazed, and did not know how to account for the neglect of our pittance; for as peace was concluded, we naturally ima-

imagined our allowance would rather have been augmented than curtailed; but on making enquiry into the cause, we were told that the Commissioners of Madras, employed in negotiating the treaty, had stipulated no kind of provision for us; and that the Nabob had sent orders to furnish us with just as much as would keep us from starving, and no more.

Though our irons were knocked off, it was a long time before we recovered the use of our limbs, and learned to walk with perfect freedom: never was the inveterate power of habit more forcibly displayed than on this occasion. We could never get the idea of our being in fetters out of our heads. No effort of our minds, no act of volition, could, for several days, overcome the habit of making the short and constrained steps to which we had so long been accustomed. Our crippled manner of walking was a subject of laughter to ourselves as well as to others.

On the 25th of March, doolies having been provided for the sick, and a few bad horses, we began our march to Vellore, the place agreed on by the treaty for the delivering up of the British prisoners, guarded by an escort of one hundred cavalry and five hundred infantry, under the command of a native Commandant.

On

On the 15th of April, we arrived at Oofcottah, a fortress situated eighteen miles eastward of Bangalore, and sixty miles distant from the pass into the Carnatic. Here the whole of the British prisoners who had been taken at the battle of Tricoallum, or of Perambankum, near Conjeveram, and at Bednore, were assembled together. Their number amounted to nearly one hundred and eighty officers, nine hundred European soldiers, and sixteen hundred sepoys, besides some hundreds of servants of different castes and occupations. The officers who had been confined at Bangalore, having received frequent supplies of cash from Madras, had it in their power to supply us, as well as the gentlemen from Bednore, with many articles, of which we stood greatly in need. This many of them did, sharing their clothes and money with such of their brother-officers and fellow-soldiers as most wanted their assistance.

On communicating to each other our respective sufferings, it appeared that the officers who were left wounded at Bednore, were much better used than at any other place. They were permitted to keep all their clothes, doolies, cots, chairs, tables, knives, forks, and other articles. They were indulged with the free use of pen, ink, and paper. A certain part of the rampart, including two towers, was given up to them,
in

in which they were at liberty to range about at pleasure. Their servants were permitted to go into the bazar to purchase whatever they chose to send for, though their daily allowance was only one seer of rice, and one pice to each.— They were allowed a French surgeon to attend them; and when they recovered of their wounds they were not put in irons.

Ensign Manly, of the Bombay Establishment, who had been taken in a sally at Mangalore, was sent to Bednore, and there confined in the same prison with some sepoys, with no other allowance than one pice per day, and a seer of raggee.

The officers who were confined at Darwaur, a fort near Goa, were lodged with the private men, upon the same allowance with the other officers who were in prison at Bednore; but they were afterwards removed to Simoga, where they were kept on a seer of raggee and one pice each a day. Their irons were connected together by a straight bar, in such a manner that the unfortunate prisoners could neither expand their legs nor contract them.

The gentlemen confined at Bangalore were not only permitted to purchase every article they wanted; but during the latter part of their confinement

finement they were allowed to visit each other in their different prisons. The private Europeans also received different treatment in the different parts of the country in which they were imprisoned. The sepoy were treated with equal severity every where.

Four days before the British officers were removed from Bednore, all the Commandants, Subadars, and Jemmidars, of the Bombay Establishment, who had been taken prisoners by Tip-poo Sultan Bahadar, were by his orders, removed from thence, and have not since been heard of. It is but too easy to conjecture the fate of those unfortunate men, when we reflect that he had repeatedly threatened to put them to death for refusing to enter into his service, and on the melancholy examples exhibited of the certainty and rigour with which his bloody menaces were carried into execution. But I have been enabled to give a full and particular account of the Bednore prisoners, by an officer who was of the number of those unfortunate sufferers.

The siege of Bednore, of which some account shall be given hereafter, having lasted seventeen days, a cessation of arms took place on the 24th of April, 1783, and, on the 26th
of

of the same month, Brigadier-General Richard Mathews, Commander in Chief of the forces on the western side of India, called a council of war, who, after deliberating on the situation of affairs, came to a resolution of capitulating on honourable terms.

The capitulation having been signed, the hostages received, and doolies sent for the sick and wounded, the garrison marched out of the fort, with the honours of war, on the 28th of April, 1783; and, after piling their arms on the glacis, were immediately escorted, by a strong body of the enemy, to a tank about half a mile beyond the Onore Gate, where the General was informed he must encamp that night; to which he reluctantly consented, it being his intention to have marched two miles further. When the whole came up, the enemy furrounded us, and posted sentries on every side, beyond whom no person was permitted to pass. The General calling for his body-guard, was informed, that the enemy, violating the terms of capitulation, had forcibly taken away their arms and ammunition immediately on their leaving the fort; and had also deprived many of the officers of their side arms. Lieutenant Mackenzie of the 100th, who had

a few days before been shot through the breast, was forced out of his dooly by the enemy, with their bayonets, as he was coming out of the fort; and several others were treated in the like cruel manner. Captain Facey, of the Bombay Establishment, with fifty sick and wounded, were detained in the fort 'till next morning, with Mr. Shields, assistant-surgeon; which latter gentleman informed us, that an Englishman in the Nawaub's service had taken an opportunity of telling him, he was extremely sorry to see him and his fellow-sufferers in so miserable a situation: that there was not the smallest hope of being given up, or of getting away, as the Nawaub had employed several artificers in forging irons for the garrison, ever since his arrival before Bednore; and that he himself had been taken and used in the same manner in the Carnatic, after the troops had capitulated.

Early in the morning, while we were preparing to march, the General received a message from the Nawaub, desiring to see him, together with Captains Eames and Lendrum, of the Bombay Establishment, and Mr. Charles Stewart, the Pay-master. He accordingly went, accompanied by those gentlemen, and carried several of the officers servants along with him,
in

in hopes of recovering those articles of which they had been plundered. Soon after their departure, a good bazar, furnished with a great variety of provisions and other articles, arrived in camp; at the same time people came to carry away the doolies, out of which they threw the sick and wounded in a most inhuman manner; dragging those who had lately suffered amputation by the stumps, and leaving them in that painful condition upon the bare ground, entirely exposed to the heat of the sun. Being asked the cause of such barbarous usage, the inhuman wretches replied, with the most insulting indifference, "We have received orders to make the doolies two feet longer." The troops had waited with the greatest impatience for the General's return, till five o'clock in the evening, when intelligence was received, that the General, and the gentlemen who accompanied him, were, immediately on their arrival at the Durbar, (without being admitted into the Nawaub's presence) made close prisoners. While we were lamenting the miserable prospect held out to us by these melancholy tidings, and waiting the issue in a state of the utmost anxiety, we were alarmed by the arrival of an additional force of the enemy, when the guards turned out and posted double sentries all round us; their design was easily seen through, though they endeavoured

voured to lull our suspicions with the pretext, that those guards which had been first placed over us, were a part of Mahomed Ally's troops, who were going to be relieved, in order to be sent to Mangalore. The next morning we perceived the enemy had sent spies into every part of our camp, and that emissaries were employed to entice the troops to enter into their service.

Early the next morning a report prevailed, that the troops were to be plundered of their property, which we soon found to be true; for at ten o'clock the bazar was taken away, the guards ordered under arms, all the European officers sent for immediately to the spot of ground from whence the bazar had been removed; where we were, one by one, plundered by the enemy, in the most rude and scandalous manner, of our horses, palanquins, money, plate, watches, and other valuables. In short, we were deprived of every article, except our bedding and clothes, and searched most minutely in every part, without the least regard to decency. The European soldiers, black officers, and sepoy, with their wives and children, as also all the camp-followers, were searched and plundered in the same indecent, infamous manner; and, in the afternoon, were marched under a strong guard to Bednore; the sick and wounded

seen the officers of Cowladroog, and the garrisons of that place and Annanpore, in irons; and also, that all the fine young men of the third and fifteenth battalions of sepoy, were, by order of the Nawaub, forcibly taken away, in order to be made slaves, and put into his Chaylah battalions.

On the 7th, Lieutenant Morrison of the 100th regiment, and Lieutenants Mackenzie and Barnewell, of the Bombay Establishment, were brought in chains; the two former gentlemen were taken at Cundapore; the latter at the commencement of the siege, with Captain Gotlich of the Bombay Establishment. These gentlemen informed us, they had been in irons for some days.—The same day Doctor Carmichael, of the Bombay Establishment, was sent for by the Nawaub, to visit Brigadier-General Mathews, whom he found much indisposed; and by whom he was informed, that the Nawaub was endeavouring to intimidate him into a surrender of all the forts in the low country, by threatening to blow him away from a gun, in case of his non-compliance.

On the 8th, in the morning, the Captains belonging to the garrisons of Cowladroog and Annanpore, together with Captain Gotlich, (who,

(who, as before-mentioned, was taken prisoner at the commencement of the siege) were brought under a guard to the barracks, and were shortly after removed (with the rest of the Captains, Mr. Gyfford, Surgeon's-Mate, of the 100th regiment, Lieutenants Barnewell and Olivier, of the Bombay Establishment, and Mr. Chick, Deputy Commissary) to a separate place of confinement.

On the 9th we were ordered to prepare to march, and were informed we should not be allowed coolies to carry our baggage: we therefore packed up as much linen as we could well carry ourselves, and, giving our bedding to our servants, we all, except Captain Pyne and Ensign Jenour, of the 102d regiment, and Captain Facey, with Lieutenants Williamson, Baird, and Lee, of the Bombay Establishment, who were in too desperate a situation, from their wounds, to be removed, went into the street, where we were first stripped of our coats, and then chained two and two, by the hands, three of the officers being linked to private soldiers; after which, we were a second time searched and plundered. We were then secured in another house 'till about three o'clock in the afternoon, when we were led through crowds of people, in this ignominious manner, (more

like criminals going to the place of execution, than British officers made prisoners contrary to the rules of war) to the enemy's camp, a short distance beyond the Delly Gate, where we heard we were to be confined in a strong fort, called Chittledroog. The enemy, at the time we were leaving the barracks, gave us an instance of the treatment we might in future expect to receive, in their behaviour to Lieutenant Alexander Macdonald, of the Bombay Establishment, who was so extremely ill that he could scarcely stand. This gentleman requested permission to remain behind with the wounded officers, which they obstinately refused, beating him and dragging him out by the heels: but, to the honour of the French, we were informed that their treatment of Lieutenant Lambert, of the Bombay Establishment, whom they had taken dangerously wounded at the commencement of the siege, was full of tenderness and humanity.

On the 10th, in the morning, as we were moving off the ground, each officer received three pice for that day's subsistence. We marched about fifteen miles, and found the apprehensions of yesterday fully justified by this day's usage on the road; several of the gentlemen who were ill, and much fatigued by the intense heat of the sun,

fun, and the want of water, attempting to rest themselves under a tree, were beat in a most unmerciful manner by the enemy, with swords and sticks, while others were driven on with the butts of their firelocks, spit upon, and abused in the grossest manner. Whenever we approached a town or village, four or five men were advanced in the front with horns and tom-toms, that the inhabitants might, by their discordant music, be assembled together to gaze at us as we passed through. We proceeded on in this miserable condition, each day bringing on a renewal of our sufferings, till our arrival at Simoga, a fort on the banks of a river, sixty miles eastward of Bednore, our allowance having been increased to one fanam each, per day, and coolies furnished to carry our bedding and clothes, whenever the commanding officer of the escort thought proper to procure them. As we were to halt here one day, we fondly expected some little indulgencies, especially for those gentlemen who were ill; but our inhuman enemy, as if delighted with every fresh opportunity of augmenting our afflictions, when intreated to afford some assistance to Lieutenant Fireworker West, of the Bombay Establishment, and Serjeant Dobbins, of the 102d regiment, who had been struck with the fun, owing to our long and severe marches, absolutely refused it, say-

ing, "they were only drunk," and seemed to exult in their misery, although the one was quite speechless, and the other raving mad : nor were they satisfied with this, but even extended their brutish insults to the lifeless body of Lieutenant Waugh, of the Bombay Establishment, whose death was evidently hastened by the injuries he had received upon the road.

On the 14th, we had the misfortune to lose Lieutenant Clements, of the Bombay Establishment, who, on his departure from Bednore, was in perfect good health, but on the last day's march received a severe stroke of the sun, of which he died, chained to Ensign Gilkie, of the same Establishment; who remained in that dreadful situation several hours. In the evening, Lieutenant Sutton of the Bombay Establishment, was seized with the cramp and spasms in his stomach. Lieutenant Reddie, who was hand-cuffed to him, and in great danger of having his arm broke, unriveted his irons by permission of one of the escort, for which he was immediately taken to a tree, and threatened to be hanged, and ropes were prepared for that purpose; the Jemmidar informing us he had received orders to hang every one who should even attempt to free himself from his fetters : but on a submissive representation of the business,

Lieutenant

Lieutenant Reddie was so far indulged, as to escape with a few lashes only. We again made application for assistance for Lieutenant Sutton, to which we received the following brutal reply, mingled with a large share of eastern abuse : " Let him die, and when he is dead, we will " drag him out of the camp by his heels : " however, by the merciful hand of Providence, he recovered in a few hours.

We left this place on the morning of the 15th, and, after a short march, arrived at Holly Honoor, a fort situated on the east bank of a rapid river, and, for the first time since we began our march, were brought under cover. As the coolies were bringing Ensign Cadogan of the Bombay Establishment, who was extremely ill, into the fort, he endeavoured to shift his posture in the quilt in which he was carried, for which he received a blow on the head, and died in a short time afterwards ; when he was, in like manner with the former deceased officers, stripped of every article, and in that naked state thrown into an hole by the side of the river, without suffering us to pay our last duty to the deceased. As we approached the destined place of confinement, our escort began to relax a little in their severity, and supplying bullocks to some of the sick to ride on (for the use of

which we gave part of the few cloathes we had with us) by slow marches we arrived on the 21st of May, 1783, at Chittledroog, a strong and almost impenetrable fortress, irregularly built on the end of a ridge of hills, surrounded by a flat country, one hundred and twenty-eight miles eastward of Bednore. Here we were conducted in triumph to a street leading to the Durbar, where we were surrounded by crowds of people, and detained till four o'clock in the afternoon; at which hour all the servants, except one to every five officers, were taken away; they then divided us into two parties, and marched us up through ten very strong gateways, to the top of one of the highest hills, where we were closely confined in two separate houses; and after having a third time searched and plundered us; our hand-cuffs were knocked off, and irons put to our legs.—Late in the evening, having had nothing to eat the whole day, they brought us some rice, with wood and water to dress it; and next morning we were ordered to deliver up all our knives and papers, but were permitted to keep a few books, which some of the officers had brought with them: they then furnished us with an hand-mill for the purpose of grinding rice, which afterwards became our chief employment. About ten o'clock a Bramin came up, and delivered to each person one
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feer of the coarsest rice and two pice, with wood sufficient to cook our victuals, which he told us was to be our daily allowance. Our servants were allowed each a pice a-day. We were also furnished with a bazar pretty well supplied with every article except butcher's meat.

On the 8th, the wood which had hitherto been served to us was stopped, nor would the enemy supply us with more, until we consented to pay for it, which additional expence deprived us of half our daily allowance. On application being made for medicines for the sick, we were informed, that the strictest orders had been issued not to supply us with any; that we had not been brought there to live, and that the Nawaub would be very happy to hear we were all dead. This cruel treatment operated very forcibly on the feelings of those gentlemen who were at this time in a bad state of health: many of them seemed to despair of recovery, as they were to look for no assistance but what Nature might afford. Thus unhappily situated, we used every means to procure some medicines, but all in vain, for the sentries (the only persons to whom we could apply) told us, that however much they were inclined to contribute to our relief, it was not in their power.

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On the 13th, three women, who were confined with us, were decoyed out by a report of some fine salt fish being in the bazar: on their going out, the doors of our prison were immediately shut, and soon after, we were alarmed with horrid shrieks and the cries of murder, and could plainly hear the women call upon us for assistance; but as it was totally out of our power to afford them any, we could only deplore their situation in anxious suspense, not knowing what might be their fate: however, an hour had not elapsed before our apprehensions were agreeably relieved by their safe return, when they informed us they had been very roughly handled, and narrowly searched, and that a few pagodas, which they had found means to conceal, had been taken from them.

On the 15th, we were deprived of the bazar, nothing being brought for sale but four milk, salt, chillies (or red pepper), tamarinds, and tobacco. About midnight, Serjeant Dobbins, of the 102d regiment, who had been ill of a fever some days, paid the debt of Nature.

On the 20th, they deprived us of the four milk, so that we had then nothing to subsist on but rice alone, without any other liquid. Uncertain how this diet might agree with us, and several

several of the officers being sick and destitute of medicines, our situation became wretched, and our prospects dreadful, from a belief that the worst was yet to come, and our suspicions were still further increased by their taking away a few onions, which one of the gentlemen had reserved, from the time of our being deprived of the bazar, just as they were going to be boiled.

About this time, died Lieutenant William Patterson, of the 102d regiment. Before his body was cold, our inhuman guards rushed in, and seized upon the few remaining things belonging to him, threatening to punish with rigour those gentlemen who should attempt to conceal any part of them. We now became exceedingly anxious to learn the situation of affairs, and punctually listened every night to the conversation of the guard, from whom we hoped to gather some intelligence, and were not disappointed : for we were frequently gratified with the most flattering and plausible accounts of the success of our army ; which accounts were sometimes confirmed, and at other times contradicted, by the sentries, with whom we had frequent opportunities of conversing during the day.

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We questioned them concerning our Europeans and sepoy, who were confined in the fort, and they told us that the former were treated in the same manner as ourselves; but that the latter, with our servants, were only allowed one seer of rauggy, which is the worst grain in the country, and one pice each per day: that they were employed during the day to work as coolies, carrying stones, mud, and chunam, (mortar made of stone or shells) for erecting and repairing the enemy's works, and that in the evening, after they had finished their labour, they were confined in prison, with irons upon their legs, and their hands tied behind them.

They further informed us, that our sepoy had been frequently asked to enter into the enemy's service, and threatened to be hanged in case they refused to do so, being told, at the same time, that all the European officers had engaged in the service of the Nawaub; but that our sepoy disregarded their threats, and told them, with a firm resolution, that they would sooner die, working as coolies, than enter into his service, and that they well knew none of the European officers would ever engage to serve under him. This pleasing news of the fortitude and fidelity of our brave sepoy, who were labouring under such cruel hardships, gave the

the utmost satisfaction, and considerably lightened the burden of our own sufferings.

On the 3d of July, Dr. Carmichael, of the Bombay Establishment, had his irons knocked off, and was conducted below to visit Dowlat Bhauee, who was suddenly taken ill. The Doctor returned in the evening, and informed us, that after prescribing for the Jemmidar, he gave him a most excellent dinner, and made him an offer of remaining in an house below, which he declined. Dowlat Bhauee also promised the Doctor that he should not again be put in irons, and faithfully kept his promise.

On the 11th of this month, died Lieutenant Auchinlech of the Company's troops. He had been long ill of a flux, and though frequent applications were made to have his irons taken off, our cruel tyrants would not consent to it; but, an hour before his death, they brought a blacksmith, and though we strongly solicited them not to disturb him in his last moments, they positively insisted on knocking off his irons, which they effected with great pain to the poor dying man.

On the 27th of August, our daily allowance was augmented to three pice each; and we were
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informed that a cessation of arms had taken place between the East-India Company and Tippoo Sultaun Nawaub Bahauder; that a treaty of peace was actually on foot, and that the Burrah Myar would be sent by the Jemmidar to acquaint us with it. We waited impatiently for a confirmation of this joyful news, until five o'clock in the evening, when the Myar made his appearance, acquainted us, in a very formal manner, that peace was nearly concluded between the powers at war, that in the mean time we should have a bazar, and requested to know all our wants. We were deluded into a firm belief of this intelligence, for five days; but, on the first of September, were undeceived, by the bazar being again taken away, and the additional pice struck off. Upon making enquiry into the cause of this sudden change, we were told, that the Burrah Myar would satisfy us on that head; but as he did not, at that time, pay us another visit, we concluded it was only a pretext calculated to serve some particular purpose.

On the 5th of October, our daily subsistence was again augmented to three pice, and the following day a bazar was sent to us, in which was ghee, (a very rancid sort of butter made from the milk of buffaloes) dhol, (a kind of
peas

pease which grow in small narrow pods on a shrub) sugar, wheat-flour, massaulaw, (fundry sorts of spice) tobacco, limes, and vegetables.

On the 20th, the Burrah Myar a second time made his appearance, and we were in great expectation of receiving some agreeable intelligence: but his errand was only to enquire, whether any of us understood the method of making musket-flints, paper, or black-lead pencils, offering great rewards to any person who would instruct him in those arts.

On the 5th of November, we had the misfortune to lose Dr. Carmichael, of the Bombay Establishment, who had been ill for a considerable length of time, and whose death was much lamented by every gentleman in the prison.

On the 4th of December, our servants, as they went to draw water, for the first time, had the opportunity of speaking to those servants attending upon the gentlemen in the other prison, from whom we had the satisfaction to hear that they all enjoyed good health, and had only lost, during their confinement, Mr. Browne, Quartermaster of the 100th regiment, Ensign Bateman, of the Bombay Establishment, and a private soldier of the 98th regiment. At different periods

we experienced various kinds of treatment, sometimes meeting with less severity than at others: we had an instance of their lenity on Christmas-day, when the bazar-man was directed to bring for sale abundance of fruit, sweetmeats, and vegetables, together with some sheep, two of which were purchased by some of the gentlemen who had saved money out of their daily allowance for that purpose.

On the 3d of January, 1784, died, much regretted, Lieutenant Drew, of the Bombay Establishment, after a painful lingering illness. Having the curiosity to enquire how they disposed of the bodies of the deceased, we were assured, by different people, that they were thrown over a precipice, into a morass, where they were devoured by ^{saballs} tygers and vultures.

I believe Tigres devour only what they kill themselves.

On the 10th, butcher's meat was allowed to be brought into the bazar, and sold in small quantities, in common with other articles. Our treatment was now much better than heretofore; we wanted for nothing that we could, with our small allowance, afford to purchase; and as many as chose were permitted to go to the outer yard, from sun-rise to sun-set. From this great alteration in the behaviour of the enemy, as well as from their repeated assurances that
peace

peace was concluding, we were led to believe that the happy day would soon arrive when we should be freed from our shackles, and once more enjoy the liberty of Britons.

On the 10th of February, died Lieutenant Hugh Moore, of the 98th regiment, who, some days before his death, had been indulged with a room to himself, in an house in the outer yard; which after his decease we were permitted to occupy, during the day. We were now positively assured that peace was concluded, and that all the prisoners would be released in a few days, which happy period we anxiously waited for; but having been so often deceived, we much suspected the truth of this intelligence, notwithstanding the indulgent behaviour of the enemy.

On the 23d of March, however, all our doubts were cleared up, for early in the morning, the Wordy Wollah came with several black-smiths, and informed us he had received orders from Dowlat Bhauee to knock off our irons, and to acquaint us that peace was concluded, and that we were to be released in a day or two. The emotions we felt on receiving this joyful and most welcome news, joined to the pleasing sensation of having our legs at liberty, no pen can describe; for a while, nothing but congratula-

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tions and rejoicings were heard re-echoing from every part of the prison.

After we were freed from our fetters, we remained two days to get the proper use of our limbs, and on the 25th, in the morning, we bad adieu to our jail, and were conducted to an open space of ground just without the prison; where we had not been long before we discovered, at a distance, our brother officers, who had been separated from us on our arrival at Chittledroog; and such was our eagerness to meet, that the fixed bayonet of the guard could not prevent our running several yards to embrace each other. This was a period of bliss, of which the first monarch in the world might justly have envied us; we were so drowned in joy, that for a while we forgot that we were still in the hands of the enemy, but were soon recovered from our trance, by receiving orders to proceed below, which we gladly obeyed, and about ten o'clock, arrived at the kutchery, (a building erected for holding courts of judicature, and transacting all public business in general) where we had the inexpressible pleasure of meeting with Messrs. Gordon and Brunton, two Lieutenants of the Madras Establishment, who had been taken prisoners some years before, with Colonel Baillie, and of seeing many other of our fellow-sufferers,

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both Europeans and sepoy, though we were not permitted to converse much with the latter. Our servants, who had been taken from us on our arrival at Chittledroog, were delivered over to us, from whom gushed tears of joy at the sight of their masters. They informed us, that several of our slave-boys had been taken out of prison and carried away: we now therefore demanded them to be given up to us, but could obtain no other redress or answer, than that "they were all dead."

Soon after our arrival here, we had the mortification to see several baskets of hand-cuffs placed before us, for the purpose of again linking us two and two: but on making a forcible representation to Dowlat Bhauee, and on signing a paper, wherein we gave our paroles of honour, for our own good behaviour, and bound ourselves answerable for that of the troops, he relinquished his intention of making us suffer that horrid, and ignominious punishment.—We were not so successful in our strenuous application in behalf of our brave, faithful soldiers; for they, poor fellows, were obliged to endure that cruel indignity.

As most of the officers and men were nearly naked, and all of us in want of shoes, we

made an application for a sum of money to be advanced to us, on the Honourable Company's account, and were informed by Dowlat Bhauee, that a Bucksby (Paymaster) would be sent with us, who would supply us with every thing we could have occasion for. Having been detained in the kutchery till four o'clock in the afternoon, we were then all conducted to the burying ground, about one mile and an half distant from the fort. As soon as we halted, we all assembled together, and on relating to each other our sufferings, we found that the officers who had been separated from us, were used in every respect in the same manner as ourselves.

On the 26th, having received no allowance of rice or pice for the preceding day, we asked for some victuals, and some hours after, a peck of rice and one pice was delivered to each person. We were amazed and did not know how to account for the reduction of our pittance; for, as peace was concluded, we naturally imagined our allowance would rather have been augmented than reduced: but, on making an enquiry into the cause, we were told, that the Commissioners from Madras, employed in negotiating the treaty, had not stipulated for any kind of provisions for us, and that the Nawaub had

had sent orders to furnish us with just as much as was barely sufficient to support life.

In the evening we received intelligence from a sepoy, who had formerly been in the English service, that Dowlat Bhauee had detained fifteen of our drummers and slave-boys, and confined them in an house close to that where he lived; also, that the Jemmidar had kept back ten European foldiers, and twenty-three sepoy, whom he separately confined in different parts of the fort, and had given out that they were dead.

This day and the 27th, several parties of our European soldiers and sepoy, from various parts of the country, joined us; and, as soon as they could get an opportunity, many of them shewed their gratitude and generosity, by sending several of us a little money, which they had contrived to save when they were first taken. As several officers obtained permission to visit their men, we learned that the Europeans had been better used than we were, except at one place, where, having only a seer of rauggy, and one pice to subsist on, they gave part of that allowance for pieces of dried sheep-skins, which being the only sort of animal food they could procure, they were afflicted with the flux to such

a degree, that out of two hundred and thirty, only one hundred and thirteen survived; and the enemy were so rigid, as not even to allow them to wash their hands and faces, or comb their hair, for the space of four months. Our sepoys were equally oppressed in every prison, all of them having been employed as coolies, carrying mud, stones, and chunam, the whole time of their confinement, without any other allowance than one seer of rauggy and one pice to each; besides which, they were daily punished with stripes, and threatened to be hanged for refusing to enter into the Nawaub's service; and in consequence of this cruel treatment, great numbers of them died. One circumstance, with which we were made acquainted by some of the European soldiers, so much redounds to the honour of the sepoys, that it ought not to pass unnoticed.—In some of the prisons where the Europeans and sepoys were confined together, the latter saved money out of their daily allowance, and purchased meat for the former, at the same time telling them, they well knew the customs of Europeans, and that they could not subsist without it. When on their march, also, they would not suffer the Europeans to carry their knapsacks, but the sepoys took them and carried them themselves, telling the Europeans that they were

were better able to bear the heat of the sun than they were, the climate being natural to them.

On the 28th, doolies having been provided for the sick, we began our march, guarded by an escort of sixty cavalry, and five hundred infantry, under the command of Meer Buckshy, for Ooscottah, where, as Dowlat Bhauee informed us, all the prisoners were to be collected, and where we should meet some of our own gentlemen sent from Madras, provided with money, and every other article requisite for our reception.

During the march, and after we halted, the guards were very particular in keeping the several parties separate: but the Buckshy was so good as to allow many of the Europeans to take off their irons.

Nothing further material happened 'till our arrival at Seerahungy, on the 8th of April, when the Buckshy informed us, that he expected a gentleman high in the Company's civil service at Madras, would overtake us that night, as he had heard he was very near; and the next morning, before the rear had marched off the ground, the gentleman alluded to, and Ensign Fomblong, of the same Establishment, overtook

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us. The appearance of these gentlemen gave us inexpressible satisfaction, for nothing could be more agreeable to us, at this time, than meeting with some of our own countrymen. Those gentlemen who were in the rear were very cordially received by Mr Fomblong; but the other English gentleman's conduct was not so pleasing; for, though he had it much in his power to have assisted us, if he had chosen it, when he was requested by one of the officers to use his endeavours with the Bucksby, to have all the men taken out of irons, he replied, "*the situation the troops were then in was the best and securest way of marching them.*" *A Scoundrel!*

Another officer represented to this gentleman the many distresses of the officers and men, and particularly mentioned their being bare-footed; as also the necessity we were reduced to of purchasing the mere necessaries of life from the bazar man, at such an exorbitant interest. In answer to which, this gentleman told him, he could give us no assistance; and he asked him, how he intended to discharge the bazar debt? Then immediately turning to another officer, with the coolest indifference, he asked him what corps he belonged to. The officer who addressed this gentleman in behalf of himself and fellow-sufferers, was so shocked at those words, and
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his behaviour, that he could make him no answer, but took his leave in silent astonishment. *The Tellico must have had a heart of steel!*

On the 12th, having lost, by death, only two Europeans, we arrived at Ooscottah, where we found Lieutenant Dallas, of the Madras cavalry, who had been appointed by the Commissioners to receive the prisoners. Mr. Dallas's behaviour was widely different from that of the gentleman whose conduct I have been relating. The contrast was a very pleasing one, for Mr. Dallas came to us in the evening, accompanied by Lieutenant M'Allister, and Cornet Lennard, of the Madras cavalry, and with the most friendly good nature, offered every assistance he was able to afford us.

On the 13th, another party of prisoners arrived, whom the Commissioners had collected on their march from Mangalore, when a second happy meeting ensued, and in the evening we all joined Lieutenant Dallas, and were delivered over in charge to Beem Row, a Bramin appointed by the Nawaub to conduct the British prisoners from Ooscottah to the Carnatic. We now enjoyed a greater scope of liberty, than we had ever done since we were captured, being allowed to range over the whole camp; and Beem Row

was

was so good as to take all the troops out of irons, though he had orders to the contrary: we also lived in perfect luxury, compared to our late mode of existing; for Mr. Dallas furnished us with tents, and daily supplied us with meat and liquors, and used all his exertions to give general satisfaction.

This day arrived, from Bangalore, Mr. Sadlier, and Colonel Braithwaite, of the Madras Establishment, which latter gentleman obtained permission from the Nawaub to proceed to Madras, with Mr. Sadlier, before the other prisoners: they accordingly set out for the Carnatic the next morning, leaving a large quantity of the Company's liquors, and two thousand pagodas, which sum was afterwards distributed, reserving a part for the other prisoners, who were hourly expected: each of the officers received two pagodas, each of the sailors one pagoda and an half, and each soldier one pagoda. The sepoys did not receive any until some days after, when they each shared one rupee and an half. Each of the officers also received a hat, a pair of shoes, four pair of stockings, and a sufficient quantity of broad cloth for one coat; these articles having been sent up by the Government of Madras.

April 17. Lieutenant Dallas, who had been appointed by the Commissioners for peace to receive

receive the prisoners, with a detachment of the Madras cavalry, and two companies of sepoy, dismounting his horsemen, and supplying as many officers as he could with horses, the whole of the prisoners, escorted by a small guard of the Sultan's, began their march towards Vellore, at which place we all of us arrived on the 25th of April, 1784. Beem Row, a Bramin, whom Tippoo Sultan had appointed to conduct the prisoners from Ooscottah to the confines of the Carnatic, received from Mr. Dallas a receipt for all the prisoners whom the Sultan had delivered up. On this we were restored to liberty, the value of which we had been taught to estimate by a long and painful confinement.

But two hundred British prisoners were still detained in the country of the tyrant. Of these, however, we have now the satisfaction to add, that many have made their escapes in the years 1785, and 1786, by taking advantage of the vicinity of the Nizam's and Mahrattas' armies; with whom Tippoo Saib soon made war, after he had made peace with the English. The Europeans, with great numbers of Tippoo's native troops, deserted to different parties of the Mahrattas; from whom they found occasions of flying to some of our frontier posts and garrisons.

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The fates of the Captains Rutledge and Speediman, jun. of the artillery, two of the young men who were forcibly circumcised, as already mentioned, and compelled to enter into the service of the enemy, are singular. The first, a very spirited and intelligent youth, was, by the latest accounts, in the command of a *rossalla*, or battalion, and in high favour. The other, who was also a very promising young man, on receiving some disgraceful usage, rescued himself, by a voluntary surrender of life, from his unfortunate situation, and from all human calamities.

We look back, now, to the days of our captivity, with a kind of melancholy satisfaction, composed of a thousand mixed emotions not to be described. These are always deeply tinged with gratitude to the exertions of government at home, and their principal servants, both military and civil, in India; but, above all, to the Governor General of Bengal, to whose magnanimous exertions we were principally indebted for our restoration to liberty, and preservation from death; and the reports of whose transcendent talents and virtues, gloriously displayed under accumulated difficulties, now and then diffused a gleam of hope thro' the horrors of hard confinement. And here I shall take the liberty of giving vent to the emotions of surprise, grief, and indignation, which swelled in our breasts on our return to Europe, at the unworthy return for all his

disinterested services.—To arraign the Governor-General for actions that passed *previously* to the most marked instances of the countenance and support of government, appeared to be unmanly, unfair and insidious. The continuance of Mr. Hastings in office, after a knowledge of all the measures of his administration, seemed to be a tacit acknowledgement of his propriety.—Our curiosity was now strongly excited to enquire into the progress and termination of the war.

While Colonel Baillie struggled with the difficulties already described, the British Commander in Chief, who heard the firing of guns, and continued reports of the march of Hyder, became anxious for the safety of our detachment, and immediately conceived the design of moving, with the main army, to his relief. An officer was sent into the pagoda, at Conjeveram, to take the charge of the stores until he should return, and verbal orders were given for marching in the evening. But the General listening, it is said, to the various and contradictory opinions of certain officious persons around him, lost the critical moment of action. The hour of marching was delayed 'till ten o'clock, and then put off 'till twelve. But the cannonade having by this time ceased, the troops were ordered to rest on their arms 'till further orders. Broad daylight discovered that Hyder had certainly moved

ed; and, at the same time, the cannonade was renewed with redoubled fury. The General immediately put the army in motion towards Perambaukum, the scene of action; but unfortunately he was misguided, considerably to the right, in his route. By the time he was within two miles of the field of battle, which was almost noon, the firing ceased at once. Some wounded sepoys, brought in by our flanking parties, reported the fate of our unfortunate little army. The General, on this intelligence, immediately reversing the line of his march, returned on his steps towards Conjeveram. He had no sooner reached this place, than he gave orders for destroying four of his heavy cannon, with a great quantity of ammunition, as there was not any conveniency for carrying them off.

Sept. 1780. At two o'clock on the 11th, in the morning, our army marched, without beat of drum, towards Chingliput; where they grounded their arms on the glaci, about break of day; on Tuesday the 12th. The greatest part of the baggage, and many of the sick and wounded, were left at Conjeveram, where they fell into the hands of the enemy. A general panic pervaded the army, insomuch, it is said, that it was suggested to the General, by a certain

tain officer, whose name it is unnecessary to reveal, to disband the sepoy, and to take shelter with the Europeans in the Dutch settlement at Sadras.

In these circumstances, the spirits of our men were revived by the fortunate arrival of the other detachment, which had been assembled at Trichinopoly, under Colonel Cosby. The Colonel, on the morning of the 10th of September, reached Vandewash, where he heard, at the distance of near forty miles, the cannonade of Baillie's and Hyder's army, but could not form any judgment of what it was. He left his tents standing, as a blind to the enemy, marched all night, and, on the morning of the 11th, arrived in sight of the pagodas of Conjeveram. The detachment being now greatly fatigued, and the Colonel unable to procure any intelligence concerning the situation of ours or Hyder's army, on account of the enemies flying parties of horse, he halted for some hours, and marched again in the evening. He was proceeding on his march towards Conjeveram, with equal rapidity and circumspection, when he was informed by one of our sepoy, who had escaped from a body of the enemy that had just then made their appearance, of the defeat of Colonel Baillie, and the retreat of the main army to Chingliput. The Colonel,

in his present critical situation, resolved immediately to press forward to that place, which, though the sepoy's information should prove false, was still within a forced march of Conjeveram; and which, if the information should prove true, was the only place of safety for the detachment. This small body preserving a steady countenance, and marching slowly in the most exact order, the infantry six deep, covered in front and rear by the two regiments of cavalry, deterred the enemy, who harraßed them on every side, from any close attempt, and entirely saved the baggage. As our troops approached to Chingliput the force of the enemy continued to increase, by the junction of the cavalry which had followed Munro thither the day before. The rear of the detachment, was, at times, very hard pressed. The enemy made a shew of throwing themselves between them and the river of Chingliput: but a quick fire from the field pieces obliged them to desist from their attempt.

The joy which the main army felt on the junction of Colonel Cosby's detachment, was heightened by surprize; for he had marched upwards of two hundred miles in a very short space of time; though the whole of the country through which he came from Trichinopoly, was over-run by the enemy. It is of some importance

portance to observe, that between Tiagar and Tricalore, our troops were fired upon, through jungles, by the inhabitants of the country, who were under the influence of the friends and emissaries of Hyder.

Sept. 13, 1780. On Wednesday, at six o'clock in the evening, our troops began to march from Chingliput, and after being annoyed part of the way by the enemy's horse, arrived about one o'clock in the morning, on Thursday the 14th, at the Mount. They were, soon after, cantoned in the houses on Choultry plain, for the approaching monsoon. Five companies of sepoy, with four guns, kept possession of the Great, and two companies, with two guns, of the Little Mount. These posts were strengthened by temporary works for the security of the cattle of the army against the enemies irregular horse, and signals were established for the protection of the cantonments.

The retreat of our army, to Fort St. George, filled the whole inhabitants at once with sorrow for their wounded or slaughtered friends, and anxiety for their own safety. The more timid were eager to find opportunities of returning with as much of their substance as possible to Europe, while those of greater courage, cast
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their eyes to Bengal, looking with solicitude for succour from that rich and extensive province. The Presidency of Madras made a formal requisition to the Supreme Council of a reinforcement suitable to the exigency of their affairs. That succours, to a certain amount, should be sent to Madras, was readily agreed to by the whole Council: but concerning that amount, as well as the time of sending the succours, there were different opinions. Mr. Francis, impressed with the unexampled disaster which had befallen our arms in the Carnatic, was alarmed for the safety of Bengal itself, the center and seat of the British government in Asia. The main exertions of government, if guided by the counsels of that gentleman, would have been confined to Bengal, which would have become the seat of war; and the other possessions of the Company, in India, would have been left almost wholly to their own resources. The Governor-General, and other Members of the Supreme Council, kept a steady eye on every part of our eastern empire, and carried, with a liberal hand, relief to the distressed. Nor was their system merely defensive. They resolved to attack our combined foes in every quarter: in the East, in the West, in the North: on the coast of Coromandel, on that of Malabar, and in the province of Malva. It was determined to send a supply of men and treasure to Madras; to make

peace with the Mahrattas on reasonable terms, or, if this should be rejected, to prosecute the war against them with vigour ; and to make a diversion in favour of our operations in the Carnatic, by an attack on Hyder on the coast of Malabar.

In consequence of these wise and spirited counsels, Sir Eyre Coote, Commander in Chief in India, landed at Madras, from Calcutta, on the 5th of November, to take the command of the army. He brought with him three hundred Europeans in battallion, upwards of two hundred European artillery, and some pieces of cannon, and 500 lascars, with fifteen lacks of rupees, and a large supply of provisions. Six companies of grenadier sepoys arrived about the same time, by sea, from Maffulipatam ; and the remainder of the seventh battalion, augmented to six companies, came at their own request from Ongle, under Captain Grant, to revenge the loss of their friends in the disaster of Colonel Baillie.

Four companies of grenadier sepoys belonging to the battalions in the Vizagapatam district, were assembled at that place to be embarked for Madras. The officers having dined with the Chief, Mr. Casamajor, came to the parade in the afternoon to march the men to the beach, and were received by a fire of musquetry, by

which three of them were killed and others wounded. The mutineers then plundered the place, and went off to some of the petty Rajahs of the country.—General Stuart, of whose military services the public had been deprived from 1777, when he was superseded in the chief command of the army on the coast of Coromandel, had left the Presidency not many weeks before Hyder's invasion of the Carnatic, and was gone,* for the improvement of his local knowledge of India, to Maffulipatam, and the Company's northern provinces. But Sir Eyre Coote, anxiously concerned for the public safety, soon after his arrival at Madras, obtained a Court Martial, which honourably acquitted and restored the General to the military service of his country: an act of justice that had been long and repeatedly refused to him.

A detachment, consisting of ten battalions of sepoys, and twenty pieces of cannon, was under orders to march to the Carnatic from Bengal; and as many troops were to be sent to Madras, by sea, as could be spared by General Goddard, who commanded the forces employed in hostilities against the Mahrattas.

October 31, 1780. While these preparations were going forward on our part, Hyder-Ally, having

having reduced Arcot, and other inferior posts, which, through the treachery of the Commandants not less than the terror of his arms, fell into his hands without resistance, sent detachments against Gingee, Vellore, Amboor, Vandewash, Parmacoil, and Carangooly, which, with Chingliput, Cuddalore, and Tiagar, were still in possession of the English. Carangooly, which was in a ruinous state, was defended only by a havaldar's guard, which abandoned it on the approach of the enemy.

December, 1780. A large body of the enemy surprised Gingee in which there was only one company of our sepoy, and these reduced to half their numbers by sickness. The Nabob had seven or eight companies of sepoy in this place, but they made not the least resistance, when a party of Hyder's men escalated the lower fort: and, as they ascended the rock to one of the upper forts, they seized ensign Macaulay, one of the Company's officers, and delivered him, with the place, into the hands of the enemy,

Hyder, having exhausted all that could minister fuel either to fury or to rapine in this country, determined to lead his victorious army to the regions southward of the Coleroon. These also had by this time experienced the ravages of
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predatory war, and every where bore marks of desolation. Multitudes of needy adventurers, allured to his standard by the hope of plunder, pouring down from the mountains of Myfore, over-run the countries of Kevalore, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, and Madura. A luxuriant crop was instantly swept off the ground and every water-dyke and embankment totally destroyed; the inhabitants who escaped the sword sought shelter in the forts, where, through want, they miserably perished. The country of Tanjore was in the possession of the invaders, who secured its crops and cattle, repulsed the Company's troops at different places, and confined them within a single fortress in the capital, where the granaries were empty, the Rajah's subjects ripe for revolt, and he himself accused of clandestinely introducing arms into his palace, and carrying on intrigues with Hyder. While he secretly endeavoured to convert his palace into an arsenal, he suffered the whole crops of the country to be collected by the enemy; at the same time that he resisted every solicitation to fill his magazines, and to provide for events neither evitable nor distant.

In the British provinces to the southward of Trichinopoly and Tanjore, affairs wore an aspect equally alarming. The great Marawa was infested by a numerous body of rebels under the

the conduct of a Chief nearly related to a family on the throne: the little Marawa, by the murderer of the late Rajah, who, after the perpetration of that crime, had fled, in 1773, for protection to Hyder, but, returning at the present crisis, seized the reins of government by the authority of that prince, kept the infant Rajah in confinement, and carried the desolation of war into the adjacent territories of the Company, held under the name of the Nabob of Arcot. The flames of disaffection and war were spread in their progress to Cape Comorin. Many thousands of Colleries and Polygars harassed the southern provinces; and the subjects of Great-Britain were often attacked within the range of their forts.

The respectable veteran at the head of the troops opposed to so formidable an invasion was in the sixty-third year of his age. Though his constitution had suffered the debilitation of an enervating climate, he cheerfully underwent, at this advanced period of life, as much fatigue as any foldier, and as readily encountered danger as any officer in his army. He was an handsome man, with a serious military air. He united spirit with caution, and the general course of his military conduct had been fortunate. There was in his character and example something that en-

gaged the affections of men, at the same time that it commanded their confidence and esteem : objects which he knew how to value, and studied on all occasions to acquire. It was on this principle that, although he possessed the sole command of the army, he communicated his plan of operations, before he took the field, to a council of war composed of Brigadier General Stuart, Sir Hector Munro, and Lord Macleod, and also to the Select Committee of Madras.

The General, informed of the fall of Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, felt the necessity of moving into the field, were it only to display in the face of the surrounding powers, the spirit and force of his troops, by daring Hyder to battle : for, a report had gone forth throughout India, that the reach of the guns of Fort St. George, limited the British army with their utmost exertions. It was on the same principle that the General, a few days after his arrival, sent a detachment under the command of Colonel Cosby, to dislodge a corps of the enemy commanded by one of Hyder's Generals, named Laulah, that had taken post near Pulicat, about thirty miles to the northward of Madras ; and which entirely cut off the supplies that had, before that time, been drawn from that quarter. The enemy were completely routed, and left behind them much of their baggage, and a quantity

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of arms and provisions. Sir Eyre Coote, accordingly, leaving the care of Fort St. George, the Black Town of Madras, St. Thomé, the Mount, and parts adjacent, to General Stuart,* took the field on the 17th of Jan. 1781, at the head of the first body of men that had ever borne arms in India. It consisted in eight thousand infantry, eight hundred cavalry, sixty-two pieces of cannon, with a suitable proportion of gunners, and a due provision of military stores. The confidence which the troops reposed in their Commander was expressed by a loud huzza. On the 19th, the army passed Chingliput, and encamped on the south side of the Pular. On the 21st, a detachment under the command of Captain Davies, carried Carangooly by surprise, with the loss of 170 men on our part, but on that of the enemy of double that number. The ~~army~~^{army} halted here on the 22d, and were joined by 150 of Hyder's horse. On the 23d, leaving a garrison at Carangooly, they resumed their march south-

* There could not, at that time, be spared from the army, for the protection of the Presidency, &c. more than two hundred Europeans, fifty artillery-men, and four hundred sepoys, fit for duty. In this situation it became necessary to cover the Black Town immediately, by out posts and flanks, raised in mud-work, such as to give the appearance, at least, of more strength. After the army left the neighbourhood of Madras, General Stuart judged it proper to pitch his tent, and fix his head-quarters near the walls of the Black Town of Madras.

southward, and carried relief to the long-invested garrison of Vandewash; the siege of which was raised by Hyder on the anniversary day of the victory which the General had obtained over the French army in their last appearance in India, in the field, under the command of the Counts Lally and D'Estaing, twenty-one years before, at that very place. This circumstance neither escaped observation, nor failed to produce, in the minds of men prone to superstition, a very fortunate impression. The General's movement at this time had also the very important effect of obliging Tippoo Saib, Hyder's eldest son, on that same day, to abandon his attempt on the principal hill fort which commanded Vellore.

The English army, leaving Vandewash, directed the line of their march towards Parmancoil; when, intelligence being received by two expresses which arrived at the same time, that a French fleet, of six sail of the line, and some frigates, under the command of Monsieur D'Orves, had passed Madras, they faced about, and returning on their steps, encamped along the eminences above Carangooly. The General's first thoughts inclined him to return immediately towards Madras, until he received General Stuart's letter, assuring him that there was nothing that could interfere with the plan

of the campaign, or to be apprehended from the French squadron, excepting the interruption of the rice supplies by sea, from the Presidency to the main army : a circumstance, indeed, which became a source of infinite disquietude to the Commander in Chief ; whose correspondence is reported to have been highly interesting, and expressive of the great public and private sensibility of his mind, at this crisis.

It was now, also, that the Commander in Chief received the unwelcome news of the important and almost impregnable fort of Amboor having been taken by Hyder, after a slight defence.


Jan. 18, 1781. The General felt this stroke the more, that if it had held out but six days longer, it would have been, as well as Vandewash and Vellore, relieved by the movements of the army. On the 2d of February, our troops marched from the left towards Parmacoil, where they encamped on the 3d ; and on the 5th, they sat down on the Red Hills, with their front towards Pondicherry, which had been taken from the French in 1778, by a detachment of the Company's troops under the command of Sir Hector Munro. Here the General intended to make a halt, both for the relaxation of the troops, and learning the intentions and movements of the enemy. On the 6th

6th of February, Hyder was observed nearly within cannon shot of the rear of our encampment, secured by a large tank, passing, with his eye fixed, as was supposed, on Cuddalore, at the head of his army. The drums instantly beat to arms. At four in the afternoon the English army began to move, filing off, by the left, into the lower road, towards Cuddalore, where they arrived, after a very fatiguing march, on the 8th at six in the morning. They were greatly annoyed the whole night, and lost some stores and baggage. The enemy kept what is called the Porto Novo road : so that the marches of both armies were parallel. On the 9th, our army encamped with its right to the ruins of Fort St. David, and its left to Cuddalore : a position which shewed their apprehensions of the farther designs of the enemy. This is the first instance of an English army being placed in such a situation with regard to any of the native powers of India : an army too, the best appointed that had ever taken the field in the country.

The English army, on the 10th, leaving their tents standing, moved out from the cover of the guns of Cuddalore, and was formed in order of battle. A river ran along their front, and covered their right flank. Their left extended towards a range of strong ground where cavalry could not act, and the bound hedge of Cuddalore,

lore, with three redoubts, secured their rear. In this situation, without tents, and the comforts which these afford, our troops, for three complete days, offered the enemy battle. Sir Eyre Coote, finding that Hyder declined an engagement, returned to his camp, with a great increase in the number of his sick. It was no wonder that the General was thus eager for battle. He was reduced to a few days provisions, and delay to engage might be equal to defeat in an engagement.

The sudden and unexpected departure of M. D'Orves, the French Admiral, from the coast of Coromandel, brightened up the gloom that hung over the minds of our General Officers, although they were careful to conceal their anxiety from the troops under their command, by opening a channel for the reception of those supplies which the unremitting vigilance and foresight of the Supreme Council of Bengal always afforded. Sir Edward Hughes, after assisting in the reduction of the French fort of Mahé, and making great havock in Hyder's fleet in his own ports of Callicut and Mangalore, returned with the garrison from Tellicherry, consisting of one company of Europeans, twenty European artillery, and one battalion with four grenadier companies of sepoys, to the coast of Coromandel. The garrison of Tellicherry was relieved by troops from



from Bombay. The certain information received by the French Admiral concerning the destination of the English fleet determined him to set sail, on the 15th of February, for the island of Mauritius. But had this Commander left only two frigates to block up the road of Cuddalore, consequences might have happened, as fatal to the interests of Great Britain in the East, as followed in North America from the convention of Saratoga.

There is not any reason either of entertainment or instruction to detail all the particulars which fill the space between the departure of the French fleet, and the junction of the troops from Tellicherry with the main army. It may be observed, however, in general, that during this time Hyder was not idle. He sent a detachment under Mr. Lally to levy contributions on the Danes at Tranquebar, and the Dutch at Negapatnam. The Dutch paid him fifty thousand pagodas, and the Danes twenty thousand. He plundered the country of Tanjore, cut off some of our flying parties, reduced the important fortrefs of Tiagar after a siege of two months, collected his army at Samjaveram, and a train of artillery upon the island of Seringham, with a view to lay siege to Trichinopoly. Tippoo Saib, after throwing a garrison into Tiagar, marched to Vandewash, and once more invested
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that fortrefs. In the month of May, 1781, Lord Macleod returned to the Presidency on account of bad health, and General Stuart joined the troops under Sir Eyre Coote.

The English army, on the 16th of June, now well augmented by the garrison from Telli-cherry, and two battalions of sepoys under the command of Captain Lamotte, from Nagore, marched to Mootapollam; and, on the 19th, crossing the river, encamped near Chillumbrum. About fix in the evening, the Trichinopoly detachment, with a twelve pounder, and a howitzer, in front, while other three battalions followed, advanced to the outer gate of the pagoda, which was splendidly illuminated on the occasion of a festival. The enemy kept perfect silence till the gun was moved forward near to the gate. They then poured down a heavy fire, which was returned by our men with great spirit. The gun advanced, and blew open the gate, though the Serjeant was killed, and the Officer, with several of the men attached to it, wounded. The lascars all ran away. By the exertions of the sepoys the gun was advanced to the second gate. The enemy set fire to a large quantity of straw, and to the thatch of some houses between the gates. The heat arising from hence was so excessive, that several of the sepoys dropped down dead. The
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gun was abandoned. The battalion, not properly supported, and in want of ammunition, drew off with the loss of thirty-eight men killed. Many of the officers, with sixty sepoy, were wounded. The army, with a large store of grain found in the pettah, returned to Porto Novo, to prepare materials for reducing Chillumbrum by a regular siege.

It is but a short way that the utmost human sagacity can penetrate into the maze of future events. The repulse at Chillumbrum, which seemed pregnant with danger, extricated the English army from a most perilous situation, and happily changed the whole face of our affairs in the Carnatic. Even a return to Madras, if it could have been effected without a further loss of men, would have been followed by effects little less disastrous than what accompany or flow from a defeat. It would have discovered to the native powers of India, that our want of magazines would always oblige us to keep near the sea, or to make incursions into the inland country: circumstances which might be improved by a prudent adversary for our disadvantage and ruin. The repulse just mentioned, which was greatly exaggerated to Hyder, determined him immediately to offer the English battle. He brought down his army from Seringham to Chillumbrum, with most astonishing rapidity.

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After rewarding the Keeladar and garrison, in an assembly of his officers, he represented the English army as a small and intimidated body of men, who, for the last six months, had scarcely ventured to advance without the bound hedge of Cuddalore, and who were now farther dispirited by their late loss and disappointment. This army, he assured them, which was at length under his power, should not escape. He was determined to erect batteries and drive it into the sea, or to cut it to pieces, as he had done that of Colonel Baillie; either of which events would put him in entire possession of the Carnatic. The war being finished, he would amply reward their bravery by an augmentation of their pay, and the command of the conquered country. The Chiefs of Hyder applauded his speech in the highest manner, and withdrew. But, the French Commander, Lallé, having obtained permission to give his opinion, entreated Hyder to consider how formidable the English were in artillery, how well supplied with all military stores, and that they were commanded by an officer of the highest reputation. The only side on which they were weak, was, the means of carrying provisions. It was this circumstance alone that had constrained them to remain so long inactive at Cuddalore. An engagement, of course, which must be the first wish of the enemy, should, he thought, be avoided.

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But Hyder flushed with success, and hoping to defeat the only force that could endanger either the conquest of the provinces south of the Coleroon, on the one hand, or that of the Deccan on the other, determined to try the event of a battle. He gave orders for cutting roads for his guns, and erected three batteries on that road which, he supposed, would be taken in marching out of Porto Novo by the English army. Two more were begun but not completed, at a considerable distance to the left, near the sea.

On the first of July, 1781, General Sir Eyre Coote led out the English army from Porto Novo, formed in two lines: the first under General Sir Hector Munro, consisting of three battalions of Europeans, and six of sepoy, one regiment of cavalry, and the body-guard, with thirty-five field-pieces, and four howitzers; the second, under General Stuart, of four battalions of sepoy, one regiment of cavalry, and fourteen field-pieces. The enemy, against whom this force was directed, according to the highest computation, exceeded an hundred, and according to the lowest, did not fall short of sixty thousand men, variously armed, with a field train of forty-seven pieces of different calibres.

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A detachment, consisting of two regiments of cavalry and a battalion of sepoys, with six field-pieces, and a small number of irregulars, was placed between the right of the army and the sea, for the protection of the baggage. A small vessel, for its farther safety, rode at anchor, with her guns ready, in the surf. While our troops, thus disposed, proceeded in order of battle, parties of horse paraded in every direction, and great quantities of rockets were thrown without intermission, to confound the observation, and, if possible, to throw the English army into disorder, and to impede their movements. Our cattle being weak, the guns were drawn through the heavy sand by the lascars and sepoys. During all this time, a space of four hours, the enemy kept up a constant cannonade, quick, but ill directed. Though considerably within point-blank distance, their shot frequently struck the ground twice, so that the files had time to open and to let it through. A large body of the enemy's cavalry now appeared, drawn up in great force on an extensive plain. On this body the English opened an heavy canonnade, which forced them to retire as our men advanced. Their retreat opened to the General's view a range of redoubts, which commanded the road.—Struck with this unexpected appearance, he ordered the troops to halt, and called a council of his

principal officers. To proceed forward in the direct line of their march, was to rush into the very throat of danger: the sea confined their movements on the left hand; and impracticable sand-banks on the right.

During the halt of the army, and while a council of war deliberated whether they should advance or retreat, a faquir who lived on the spot, came up, and discovered a road cut through the sand hills. This road being examined, was found to be newly made, and calculated for the movement of troops and artillery. Hyder had made it the very night before, for the purpose of attacking the right of the English army, whilst they should be engaged in storming the batteries in front. This farther disposition was intended by that artful Commander, that, on the confusion of our men, the main body of his cavalry should rush from behind the batteries and complete the rout. The road, designed by Hyder Ally for the overthrow of the English, was destined by Providence for their preservation: for, by this, Sir Eyre Coote marched the troops, their right being covered by a tope and hedge, and having gained a plain, effected their deliverance from apparent ruin.

Hyder,

Hyder, disappointed in his stratagem, evacuated his works, and moved a-breast with our army, which, after passing through the sand-banks and quitting the road, turned to the left, and faced the enemy, who, in the possession of a ridge of sand-banks in front, seemed to offer a decisive action.—The General, now, had not certainly any option; but, from some cause or other, a second hesitation took place. Certain unasked opinions were given in favour of a retreat, under the abject and ruinous notion of looking for more equal ground. To the honour of General Munro, it is right to mention, that when the enemy's batteries were discovered in front of our army, he gave his opinion against the madness of an attack: but that, in this second situation, he urged its absolute necessity. A space of time, which appeared to every individual in ^{the first line of} our army of great length, was consumed, under the enemy's fire, who had withdrawn their guns from the batteries to the line, and presented a new front, before the General determined to come to a close attack: and it was during this interval, chiefly, that we suffered the loss that was sustained in this action.

Meanwhile, the heights in the rear of the first line of our army, led on by Sir Eyre Coote, were seized by General Stuart, who commanded the

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second.

⊕ *Until the Rear was secured How could the General safely and with prudence advance to the attack of such an Enemy?*

second. This excellent disposition encouraged the Commander in Chief to advance with confidence on the enemy. He marched up, at the head of the first line, to the enemy's infantry, consisting of thirty battalions, drawn up in a holloway, and behind sand-hills, where, during the cannonade, they had sat down, at the distance of about fifty yards. They rose, gave their fire irregularly, and without effect, and ran.

But, previously to this attack, Hyder had detached a strong body of disciplined infantry, with a suitable train of artillery, a prodigious number of irregulars and cavalry, to attack the English posted on the heights. Lallé and Pimorin, at the head of their European troops, led on Hyder's best horse in separated charges; but they were as often swept off by the well-directed fire of our artillery. In the last of these charges, fell Meer Saib, Hyder's principal General, endeavouring to inspire his men by his example. A tumbril belonging to the cavalry on the right of our first line blew up, but without doing any considerable mischief. The enemy, taking advantage of this accident, made an immediate charge on the quarter where it happened, but being steadily received, were repulsed. Another detachment also attempted, by penetrating into the interval between our two lines, to attack Sir Eyre

Eyre Coote in the rear. Thus was each wing separately, and almost equally engaged.—The fresh forces with which the enemy were incessantly relieved, rendered the battle long and obstinate. It lasted above six hours, in which every individual in the Company's service fought as if the fate of the day had depended on his single efforts. The first line, triumphing over every obstacle, drove the enemy, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, promiscuously before them. The second line, under the command of General Stuart, had by this time, not only repulsed the other division of the army, but driven them from their post and defeated every attempt they made to attack the General's rear. It was also the masterly disposition, and spirited exertions of the second line, that protected the baggage, disposed, as has been mentioned, close by the sea, from even the attempts of the enemy.

About two o'clock, the enemy, from their superiority in cavalry, drew off their cannon, in spite of all the exertions of the victors. The rout was complete and general.—The tumult and confusion in the retreat of such a multitude of people tempted an eager pursuit, which, could it have been made, must have effected an unexampled carnage among men and cattle. But

our guns were dragged slowly through deep and sandy soil; while the numbers and the spirit of Hyder's cattle gave a celerity to his motion which ours could not equal. The greatest loss sustained by the enemy happened before our second line, where, ignorant of its force and strong position, and mistaking it for a common baggage guard, they made the most spirited attempt on their part; although it must be allowed that their artillery was served with great promptitude and address, during the whole course of the action. What loss of men is sustained in an engagement by an Indian army, cannot be ascertained with any degree of exactness, as it is a religious maxim with all the Hindoos, to carry off as many of their wounded and slain as they can. This they think of great importance, being persuaded, that after the body is burned, neither the evil principle or being, nor the demons of wrath who are subservient to his will, have any power over the emancipated spirit: a notion that is in exact conformity to an ancient and very general doctrine, that matter is the grand principle of evil, and that the souls of those who have departed from life, hover around, and are attracted to their bodies, as long as they are entire; either the whole corporeal frame, or any of the organized parts or members. The Mah-rattas, the Myforeans, the Polygars, and in general

neral all the Gentoo warriors, have their loins begirt with girdles or belts. The horsemen have a hook which they dart with great dexterity between those belts and the dead bodies of their friends, and therewith carry them off from the field of battle. As nearly as could be conjectured, the number of the slain, on the side of Hyder, amounted to three thousand : but what appeared in his fight a greater loss, was the mortal wounds of Meer Saib, his favourite General and son-in-law, who, at the head of the Mogul and Canary cavalry, made the first impression on the British lines, in the unfortunate action near Conjeeveram. The English General halted near the field of action, from inability to pursue the enemy. Our loss did not exceed four hundred, nor was there an officer of rank or distinction among either killed or wounded.

Although no trophies were gained, or prisoners made, the first of July, 1781, will ever be accounted an important day to the eastern branch of the British empire. It broke that spell which was formed by the defeat of Colonel Baillie, and destroyed that respect which the name of Hyder-Ally-Cawn had obtained, from that disastrous to this prosperous event, among superstitious observers, whose opinions are formed
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by the impression of striking events, more than by the deductions of reason.

The General, on the 3d of July, returned his thanks to the troops, gave orders for a *feu de joie*, and dispatched expresses to every quarter with the news of the victory. His Majesty's 73d regiment, on account of their distinguished steadiness in the field, as well as their exemplary deportment in quarters, were presented by the General with fifty pounds to buy a pair of bagpipes.

While these things were transacted near Porto Novo, a detachment under Tippoo Saib had invested Vandewash, and begun to construct batteries, and to make other necessary preparations for a siege. The General therefore determined to march to the northward, in order to relieve this place, and afterwards to form a junction with the Bengal detachment. Tippoo, on the approach of our army, precipitately raised the siege of Vandewash, and joined the main army under Hyder, in the neighbourhood of Arcot.

Sir Eyre Coote, reinforced by ten battalions of sepoys and twenty pieces of cannon, sent from Bengal under the command of Colonel Pearse, laid siege to Tripassore, which surrendered on the

22d of August, on terms of capitulation. A very seasonable supply of paddy being found in the fort, the troops were provided with subsistence for several days, and the General, hearing that Hyder was, in full force, at the distance of about sixteen miles, marched towards him, in order if possible to bring him to an engagement: the only measure that seemed to promise enlargement from surrounding difficulties. Hyder, on the approach of the English army, fell back a few miles, to the ground on which he had defeated the detachment under Colonel Baillie, where he took a very strong position; and where, under the notion of its being a fortunate spot, he determined to try his fortune in a second battle.

These things being faithfully reported to the British Commander, he marched towards the enemy on the 27th, in the morning, when, about eight o'clock, he discovered his army drawn up in order of battle, in full force, to receive him, and in possession of many strong and advantageous posts, rendered still more formidable by the nature of the interjacent country, which was intersected by very deep courses of water.—Some cannon-shot being fired at our advanced guard, the army was immediately ordered to halt, till the baggage could be drawn to a station allotted for it in the rear. This being done, the second line,

line, consisting of two brigades, turned to a situation of some strength on the left. The first line, consisting of three brigades, filed off to the place where the advanced guard had been fired on, and formed in the face of a fire of six or eight pieces of cannon. This brought the front of the first line to a right angle with that of the second, or, in military language, it gave the army a double front with a large interval. The general then ordered the first line to push through a space of ground covered with bushes and underwood, and to storm the enemy's guns. When they cleared these obstructions, nothing was to be seen except a line of horsemen at some distance: but suddenly the same guns that had been firing on our front, opened an enfilade on both our flanks.

When Hyder had thus completely entangled the first line, and not before, he opened a most tremendous cannonade on the second. Sir Hector Munro, who commanded the first line, was of his own accord bringing round his front to the left, when he received orders from the General to join the second line, as the left brigade under Colonel Owen were scarcely able to maintain their ground. —The division of the army commanded by Munro, after making the circuit that has been described, found themselves, now, on the very spot where

where Colonel Baillie made his last stand. The fragments of bodies, the legs, arms and skulls, the manoeuvres that were made, and the noise of the cannon, brought the bloody tragedy of September, 1780, full in their view, and made an impression on their imaginations, which was to be surmounted only by military discipline, and a sense of honour.

The first line now closing, and presenting the same front with the second, the whole army, in one connected line, was ordered to advance on the enemy's artillery. On this order, Sir Hector Monro submitted to the Commander in Chief, what was murmured throughout the whole line, whether it would not be improper to abandon the shelter they derived from a long avenue and other trees, since the ground between the two armies was such as could not be passed, and that an attempt to move close up with the enemy, in that direction, would only expose them to the weight of their cannon, without the possibility of their effecting any object that might compensate so great a disadvantage. The General, in an hurry of spirits, which at such a crisis might be well excused, and not perhaps attending to what Sir Hector Monro had said, replied to his second in command, " Sir, you talk to me
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“when you should be doing your duty.”* In obedience, therefore, to the General’s orders, the troops advanced more and more within reach of the enemy’s cannon. The men dropped fast, disliked their situation, and became impatient. One tumbril had blown up at the instant when the two lines of the army were closing in one : a second blew up now together with some limber boxes. Orders for some manœuvre were now expected from the General, by the first line, with great anxiety, but none arrived. Sir Hector Monro, sitting by the only tree that was in the plain, in a sullen mood, refused to give any orders whatever. The second line was in the utmost confusion. The battalions, in opening for the purpose of giving way to the enemy’s shot, had fallen into clusters and become noisy. Had the enemy charged our men with his numerous cavalry, from the left, at any period of the two hours during which our affairs were in this perilous situation, it is not improbable that we would have suffered discomfiture and defeat : and that the plains of Ticollum, a second time strewed with the mangled bodies of the English, would have rivetted the superstition, and inflamed the

cruelty

* This circumstance is mentioned here, on account of Sir Hector Monro’s having quitted the army, as soon as he could, and never again serving under Sir Eyre Coote.

cruelty of the barbarian conqueror.—Our cavalry, indeed, might have made good their retreat, as they were at some distance with the baggage: but the foot soldiers would never have been able to escape from the field: no! not perhaps even in the character of prisoners.

Happily, the disorder of our line could not be easily perceived by the enemy: and there is reason to suppose that he neither knew of that confusion, nor formed the plan of his operations, on the supposition that any confusion was to happen. His chief design, was, to revive the spirits of his troops, and to convince the princes of the country, that he could yet engage, and make head against the greatest European army that had ever taken the field in India.

The evening was now far advanced, when Hyder drew off his guns, and all was silence. It was thought adviseable, at the same time, that our army should march back to the strong ground from which they had advanced. When the circumstances that rendered it expedient to retire, were urged in a conference among the principal officers, one of the gentlemen happened unfortunately to make use of the word *retreat*. The General swore that he had never retreated in his life, but that he would *permit the army to fall back*.

This happy expression was followed by immediate orders for the troops to turn to the right about.

Our loss, on this day, was heavier than on 1st of July, and that of the enemy less, which was owing to their having sheltered themselves under the cover of tanks and other grounds which they possessed, favourable for that purpose. Of our privates six hundred either perished in the field or were desperately wounded. General Stuart lost his leg by a cannon-shot, whilst bravely conducting the second line to the support of a post which the Commander in Chief had occupied at the commencement of the engagement, and on which the enemy had kept up a severe fire. The same shot also carried away the leg of Lieut. Col. Brown, and by his death, which soon followed, deprived the East-India Company of a very old and faithful servant, and the army, of an able and very experienced officer. Captain Hislop, also, a very active and spirited officer, and one of the General's aid-de-camps, fell in this obstinate and indecisive, not to say undecided engagement.

The hircarrahs, or spies, sent out by the General to discover Hyder's further plans, brought intelligence that the enemy had determined to attack

attack the English army, some hour between midnight and break of day. In consequence of this, orders were issued for the whole line to lie all night under arms, in the front of the encampment. While our army guarded against an imaginary attack, the report of which had been industriously circulated by Hyder, that cautious Commander, who judged it imprudent to leave his unconnected, in the vicinity of our disciplined army, under the cloud of night, was retreating to a distance that might secure him against a surprize.

On the 28th of August, our dead were buried, and the wounded collected and dressed. The next day, our troops being masters of the field of battle, and Hyder at some distance, the General ordered the men under arms, when our guns and small arms, announced a victory. The tents and baggage were then packed, and the troops put in motion for Tripassore, where they encamped on the 30th. Hyder called this march a retreat, and, claiming a victory, proclaimed one, in all the pomp of war, to the nations of Hindostan.

There was not any thing memorable that occurred before the 27th of September, when the English army, having pitched their camp, the

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day before, within four miles of Hyder, who waited for them at the pass of Chillangur, was put in motion to try the fortune of a new battle. The baggage was thrown into a theatre which the hand of nature had formed. The second brigade, with the two flank companies of the 73d regiment, the cavalry, and a train of twenty-two pieces of cannon, broke from the main body, and moved for some high ground to the left of the enemy's line of encampment, not yet struck, while the main army continued to advance, in one line, upon the enemy's front. Hyder, who had assured himself from experience that Sir Eyre Coote would keep the whole of his troops together, and of course, had only guarded against a direct movement on his front, kept a steady eye on the left of our line and on the baggage.—A change of disposition in an army unwieldy, and without subordination, involves an immediate retreat. Such was the army headed by Hyder Ally. That experienced General, therefore, instead of resisting the detachment, endeavoured only to alarm them with a shew, and a slight attack by a body of horse. He abandoned his design upon the left wing of our army and baggage, and, after a short fire from his guns, ordered them to be carried off.

In doing this, his horse were brought under our cannon, and suffered greatly. In the hurry of retirement, his guns were at one time, huddled together in a miry place, which encouraged our men to advance against the enemy with greater rapidity.—Hyder, on perceiving this, instantly charged the assailants with a body of his best cavalry. This force interrupted the progress of our line : but after receiving many discharges of grape, and in reality surmounting their dangers, instead of riding against the files, they galloped through an opening they found in the line, and never stopped till they found themselves without the reach of our cannon. One field piece, being a six-pounder, was found by our men, sunk to the axle, and discovered to be one of the eight guns belonging to Colonel Baillie.

Night having overtaken our troops in the midst of their victory, the second brigade was called in, and the army encamped. In this action, which, from the pass, is called the battle of Chillangur, Hyder-Ally lost one thousand men, and a greater number of horses. The loss on our side did not exceed that of one officer and sixty private soldiers.

The General, without money, and without provisions, did not think it advisable to pursue the retreating enemy: but, on the day after the action, directing his march to the interior Pollams, he came over eight miles of fatiguing ground, and encamped. What he had now in view, was, to offer the Polygars the same terms which, in the day of our prosperity we had violated, if they would espouse our cause, and give up the interests of Hyder-Ally.

The Polygars enjoy a degree of freedom unknown in the plains of India; the strength of their situation, amidst hills, woods, and deep ravines, producing the same effects with the like situations in other countries. There never was a power, among all the conquerors in India, to whom they so soon became tributary as that formidable invader, Hyder-Ally. The Chief of the Polygars, in this part of the country, Bomrauze, had promised to furnish Sir Eyre Coote both with money and rice, after Hyder should be defeated, when he might do it with safety. The General now called upon him to fulfil his promises. The promises were continued, but the rice and money were not produced. The General, therefore, having served out his last measure of rice, broke through the barrier, and penetrated into the interior Pollams, by a forced march,

march, on the 1st of October, determined to compel Bom-rauze to fulfil his engagements. On the 5th, he sent out detachments from his camp at the village of Attamancherry, to bring in cattle and rice wherever they could be found. These Bom-rauze industriously threw in the way of our parties; a policy by which he hoped to avert the immediate vengeance of the English, whom he essentially served, and to obtain from Hyder, in case of a reverse of fortune, not only indulgence and excuse on the score of compulsion, but indemnification for his heavy losses.

On the 7th of October, a detachment of six battalions, two hundred horse, and twelve field-pieces, under the command of Colonel Owen, marched out of the camp in the night, with the design of intercepting a large convoy from the Myfore country on its way to Hyder's encampment at Lalpet. But Hyder, as usual, receiving early intelligence of this attempt, ordered the convoy to return to one of his posts. —In the mean time, as our affairs had now begun to wear a pleasing aspect, the army, without departing from that vigilance and military discipline which became their situation, enjoyed a grateful and salutary relaxation after their toils, in the delightful vale in which they were encamped, and Sir Eyre Coote liberally enter-

tained his officers at a plentiful and festive board. But, on the 23d, having received the news of Colonel Owen's disappointment and retreat, as soon as matters could be arranged after being so long in a fixed camp, they descended from the Polygar country, crossed the plain of Palipet, and joined the detachment under Colonel Owen at the village of Mydowaddee.

A few days previous to the 23d, a company of European grenadiers commanded by Captain Moore, together with two twelve pounders and some petards, joined Colonel Owen for the declared purpose of storming the fort of Chittoor. Hyder, not waiting for Owen's march to Chittoor, formed the design of cutting him off, by coming between his camp and the pass to which it was near. For this end, soon after it was dark, in the night of the 22d, he began his march from Lalpet, and, notwithstanding the delays that usually attend a nocturnal movement, he had gained in his progress four hours of daylight before Colonel Owen received any intelligence of his secret expedition. The Colonel, who had encamped only two miles westward of the pass, fortunately arrived, by a rapid march, before the enemy. As the detachment began to defile, Hyder's cannon-shot fell among them with great execution. The confusion into which
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this threw the battalion in the rear, encouraged a body of horse to rush upon them at full gallop. The battalion was quickly dispersed, and Captain Walker, who commanded it, was killed. The fall of this excellent officer and amiable man, on whom the according voice of all who knew him had bestowed the epithet of *honest*, was exceedingly lamented, and drew not a little odium and reproach upon the battalion, to whose irresolution it was generally ascribed. The sepoys seeing this battalion, which had hitherto been esteemed one of the best in the service, thus driven before the enemy, lost all regard to the word of command, and fell into disorder and consternation.—What saved the detachment from entire destruction, was, Captain Moore's company of Europeans, who at this critical moment wheeled rapidly to the rear, and poured a volley of shot among the enemy, pressing in crowds round a field piece which our sepoys had deserted. By this spirited action, the gun was recovered, the party that crowded around it dispersed, the rapidity of the pursuit checked, and the sepoys, recovered from their panic, reunited to the effective force of our little army. Captain Moore still kept in the rear, which enabled Colonel Owen to make good his retreat with discipline, and without further risk of destruction. Intelligence being received of the approach of the

army, the detachment halted, and Hyder, rightly conjecturing, if not particularly informed of what had happened, withdrew the pursuit, and returned to his camp at Lalpet. In this expedition seven officers, and about three hundred men, were killed or wounded. Colonel Owen, with all his camp-equipage, lost his private baggage: but this was paid for by Government, at the particular desire of the Commander in Chief.

The General, on the 26th October, removed his camp to Palipet, whither a detachment returned on the 30th, that had carried the sick and wounded to Tripaffore. This party fell in by accident with seven hundred bullocks laden with salt, which afforded a seasonable supply to our troops. These bullocks were the rear of a convoy of five thousand, destined for Hyder's camp: a due degree of information would have enabled our men to make an easy acquisition of the whole.

These immaterial circumstances are introduced here as prefatory to an important observation made by every gentleman in the army that served in the war against Hyder Ally-Cawn, and Tip-poo Saib, whether on the coast of Malabar or the Carnatic. A battalion was never detached from

from our army but Hyder had the earliest notice of it :—of Hyder's most capital movements we had not the smallest intelligence.—Hyder, it is well known, paid liberally for information; and it is as well known, that a most sparing hand dealt out the money that was paid for ours. The natives of the Carnatic, though by nature puffanimous, will undergo great hazards for the sake of gain : but the meanest hireling will not incur the risk of torments and death for *five pagodas* : yet secret service money was charged to Government to a large amount.—Surmises fell on some agents ; but none on the General.

About the 1st of November, at some distance from the English camp near the village of Palipet, a valuable quantity of rice was found, and sufficient for the supply of the garrison of Vellore, which from the want of that necessary article was at this time in the greatest distress. In conveying the rice to that place, our army met not with the least molestation : not that our movements escaped the usual vigilance of Hyder, but because he was not able, at this juncture, to bring his numerous and ill-regulated body, governed not by discipline, but in a great measure by circumstances of superstition and currents of passion, to meet our men in the field of battle.

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This supply, therefore, notwithstanding the reports industriously spread by the enemy, of stations occupied for cutting it off, was safely conveyed to Vellore : and, on the 7th, the army sat down before Chittoor, which after a siege of two days, when our troops were in readiness to storm it, proposed, on the 10th, terms of capitulation. The Killedar, having fortified himself with bang, came out, with a few attendants, carrying a flag of truce, and boldly declared, that he would defend Chittoor to the last extremity, unless the garrison should be permitted to go where they pleased, and to carry off all their private property. His conditions were granted, and the fort was given up. The senior engineer of our army, Captain Tippet, was killed by a random ball from a match-lock piece; but the firing from two very bad guns did not the smallest hurt to any of our officers or soldiers. From the forts of Carangooly, Tripaffore, and Chittoor, being without artillery, we may suppose that Hyder never considered them as tenable. The garrisons held on the frontier were in a far different state of defence.

At this time the heavens threatened every instant the fall of the monsoon floods : yet still the army continued to lie before Chittore, from the reduction of which they had not derived one advantage

advantage. They became straitened for want of rice to feed the sepoys, and began to feel the distresses of forces checked in their views, and cut off from their supplies. The General, who no doubt had his reasons for continuing before Chittoor, was disappointed in some expectation, not publicly revealed, and manifested unequivocal symptoms of chagrin and discontent.

But, upon the 15th of November, Sir Eyre Coote was called from this scene of inaction, and apparent suspense, by a letter received from Captain Temple, the officer left at Palipet, informing him that Hyder himself had fallen on his post unexpectedly, that he himself and his sepoys had found protection in the hills, but that the baggage and guns had become the property of the enemy. Orders were now given for the army to march next morning from Chittoor, in which Captain Lamotte was left with two field-pieces and a battalion of sepoys. When the General began to move from this place, on the 16th, Mahommed Ally, one of Hyder's auxiliary Chiefs, made a shew of cavalry, as if he meant to dispute the passage of the English over the river Ponee, but retreated before a few cannon balls. The army soon after this encamped at the pass of Dalamampetta, through which they descended on the 17th of November, and

and halted at Palipet. Here they were joined by Captain Temple's battalion, and the General was informed that it had been determined by Hyder, that Tippoo should march through the Pollams, stop at Pollore, and, with the guns he should take there, added to those of which he had become master at Palipet, advance to the siege of Tripaffore.

A heavy cannonade, heard in the English camp, within a few hours, confirmed this intelligence, and summoned, in all the terrific pomp of war, the English army to the relief of their friends in distress. On the 19th, they had no sooner set out on their march to Tripaffore, than the clouds broke, and those rains descended, which, in the fall of the year, pouring from the perpendicular sides of extensive mountains, render the rivers impassable in the short space of two days. The General, urged by the gathering floods, with the beds of three rivers on the rout that lay before him, continued his march without interruption 'till ten o'clock at night, when the van was ordered to halt: but the rear did not come up 'till one o'clock on the next day. The roads were already so much deepened by the rains, that an elephant, three camels, and a number of horses, with many carriages and bullocks, stuck fast in the mud, and were left behind

hind our men on their march. The last branch of the Palar was found just fordable when they crossed it on the 21st. On the evening of that day the army encamped near Tripaffore, with no more than two days provisions. Tippoo Saib, although he had made a breach in one of the sides of the fort, had withdrawn his forces: a circumstance which seemed to justify the opinion of the Commanding Officer, that Tippoo did not act with a view to obtain possession of Tripaffore, and that the attack on this place was a plan of Hyder's for drawing the English from the Pollams. It happened fortunately for our army, whatever were the stratagems of the enemy, that the cannonade against Tripaffore hastened their steps as they returned from those hilly regions.

Sir Eyre Coote, November the 23d, altered the position of the troops by encamping on the Coccalore plain above Tripaffore. The army, having lost one-third of the strength it possessed when it marched, in August, from the Mount, occupied, on the 3d of December, the cantonments from which it had been drawn together on the same month of the preceding year. This campaign abounds with incidents more interesting in their nature, as they lead to general conclusions, than important in their immediate and particular effects. It was not marked by any event

event that promised to decide the general issue of the war, but it shewed Europeans the means by which they may be successfully opposed by Asiatic enemies.

While our army lay encamped on the plain of Coccalore, a royal salute was fired on account of the reduction of the Dutch garrison of Negapatnam, by the combined forces of the navy under Sir Edward Hughes, and the army stationed in Tanjore, the command of which had been given to Major-General Sir Hector Munro. The garrison in this place had been reinforced by a large detachment of Hyder-Ally's troops, and new works had been added, by French engineers, to the fortifications. The garrison consisted of some thousands of men, but of these only five hundred were Europeans. On the 21st of October, the Company's troops appeared at Nagore. The same day, the whole corps of marines, amounting to four hundred and forty-three, officers included, landed, and joined the Company's troops : and, on the 22d, a battalion of seamen from the squadron, consisting of eight hundred and twenty-seven, including officers, was also landed : the whole under the command of the Captains Mackenzie, Mackay, and Reynolds, with orders to co-operate with Sir Hector Munro to the utmost, in all measures

measures for the reduction of Negapatnam. In the mean time, battering cannon for the attack, consisting of four eighteen-pounders, and two twelve-pounders, iron guns from the transports, with twelve eighteen-pounders from the ships of the squadron, two mortars with their carriages, and a suitable quantity of ammunition of all kinds, were landed through a great surf by the boats of the squadron, and on rafts, or catamarans, made for that purpose, with incredible fatigue to the men, but at the same time with incredible speed and alacrity.

The strong lines which the enemy had thrown up, flanked by redoubts to cover and defend the approach to the town, being stormed, and carried by our troops, the General opened ground against the north face of the fort, on the 3d of November, and the approaches were carried on with great rapidity. On the 5th Sir Edward Hughes moved with a part of the squadron nearer to the fort, on the flank of the British lines; and on the 6th, early in the morning, he came on shore, to concert with the General the best means of carrying on the siege with vigour. A battery of ten eighteen-pounders, within three hundred paces of the walls of the place, being ready to open, a joint summons was sent from the General and Admiral to the Dutch Governor,

nor, requiring him to capitulate, which he refused to do in positive terms. But a most formidable breach-battery having played on a bastion with great effect, the Dutch Governor, who, during the course of the siege had made two desperate sallies, with the greater part of the garrison, early in the morning of the 11th demanded a parley, and sent out two commissioners to the General in camp, with terms of honourable capitulation, which were granted.

The Admiral, after experiencing all the vicissitudes of a monsoon, and receiving on board his squadron a detachment of the Company's land forces, consisting of an officer and thirty European and native artillery, and about five hundred volunteer sepoys, under a Captain and five subalterns, sailed from the road of Negapatnam, on the 2d of Jan. 1782, and arrived in Trincomalé Bay, in the island of Ceylon, on the 4th, where he found an English ship of war, under the command of Captain Montague, that had been stationed, by the foresight and activity of Government, ever since the month of August, 1781, for the purpose of blocking up the Dutch ships in the harbour. Our troops were landed on the 5th, and, on the night of that day, Trincomalé fort was taken without resistance.

tance. The grenadier company of marines, with the guns, rushed into it through the gateway, while the Governor was drawing up terms of capitulation. In this fortress, which commanded the only place where provisions and stores could be landed from the ships, ten iron guns were found of different calibres : and three officers with forty men were made prisoners.

The Admiral now directed his force against Fort Ostenburgh, situated on the top of an high hill which commanded the harbour, and containing all that remained of the strength of the enemy. After an interchange of several polite and friendly letters, between Sir Edward Hughes and Van Albert Homoed the Governor, who had lived on the footing of intimate acquaintance and personal attachment, Ostenburgh was taken by assault, about day-light, in the morning of January 11th. The assailants had the misfortune of losing Lieutenant George Long, second Lieutenant to the Admiral, who was killed as he bravely advanced to the assault at the head of his company, and also twenty non-commissioned and private seamen and marines. Lieutenant Wolfely, who commanded a company of seamen, Lieutenant Samuel Orr, who commanded the grenadier company of marines, and did duty as a Brigade-Major, and forty non-commissioned

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and private seamen and marines were wounded. The enemy lost but few men, as they soon, for the most part, threw down their arms; and their lives, though forfeited by the laws of war, were spared by the clemency of the conqueror.—The Governor, with the garrison, consisting of about four hundred Europeans, including officers, were taken prisoners.

By these successes, easily obtained, the Dutch were driven entirely from the coast of Coromandel; an avenue was opened to the reduction of their settlements in Ceylon, and a door was opened into the heart of Tanjore, which spread the terror of the English name throughout that and the adjacent countries. Hyder-Ally's troops evacuated all the forts and strong-positions they held in Tanjore; and the Polygars in the Marawa and Tinavelly provinces, who, at the instigation of Hyder, had rebelled against the Nabob of the Carnatic, and taken part against us, returned to their obedience.

The reduction of the Dutch forts was a measure that originated with Lord Macartney, who succeeded to the inglorious Mr. Whitehill in the government of Madras, and who first brought the news of a Dutch war, in June 1781, to India.

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While the English fleet was employed in making and securing the easy acquisitions above described, the movements of our land armies in the Carnatic and in Tanjore were as follow.—Sir Eyre Coote, informed of the distress, marched to the relief of the garrison of Vellore : but, on the 5th of Jan. 1782, indisposition, arising not more from bodily fatigue and the cares of war, than from the vexatious disputes in which he found himself involved with the new Governor of Madras, obliged him to halt at Tripaffore. The General's declining frame, on this anxious day, was threaten'd with instant dissolution, and his life was despaired for several hours. On the 6th, however, his strength was so far restored, as to admit of being borne in his palanquin. The army rejoiced at his recovery, resumed their march, and encamped at a village called Edinburg, which, from its sameness with the name of the capital of Scotland, affected the 73d regiment with a lively and tender recollection of their native country.

Nothing material passed 'till the 10th, when the army, now in the fight of Vellore, with the convoy to the right under the hills, dragging their artillery through a deep morass, which Hyder had thrown in their way by breaking down the banks of a tank, were struck with the

appearance of the enemy's line, which to the eye appeared to be regular, shooting towards their rear and baggage. But happily our army had crossed the morafs before they came up. A distant cannonade now commenced, which lasted above six hours, and by which we had three subaltern officers and sixty-nine soldiers killed, or lost to the service by heavy cannon-shot wounds. The convoy was safely lodged in Vellore on the 11th, and on the 13th, the army coming up to the same morafs, in their return, found Hyder prepared on the other side to dispute their passage. A distant cannonade took place between the two armies, by which the English lost Captain Lucas of the artillery, and nearly the same number of men that fell by the firing of the 10th. Hyder fell back, and our men pursued their march.

Upon the 15th, the army, after a long march, encamped near Tritani Pagoda, from whence the enemy's camp was seen at a distance, fronting ours. On the 16th the General moved the army about two miles nearer the enemy, who also, on their part, drew somewhat nearer to him. Various manœuvres were practised on both sides. Sir Eyre Coote challenged Hyder-Ally to try the fortune of a battle on ground approved by the English; and Hyder, in his turn,

turn, dared Sir Eyre Coote to come on and measure the strength of the English with his, on ground which he had chosen. After a mutual discharge of artillery, the armies parted and pitched their tents.

The English General, having returned to the Mount, applied himself to the construction of magazines, one at Chingliput, and one at Tripassore: a measure which, could it have been carried into execution sooner, would have softened the inconveniencies, given system to the marches, and advantage and effect to the victories gained by the army. The continuance of our troops in that station was prolonged by the unhappy differences between Sir Eyre Coote and Lord Macartney, which made it necessary for the General to apply to the Supreme Council of Bengal, for the restoration of his authority over the southern army, that he might be able to direct the co-operation of the whole force under his command, in such a manner as might promote his own schemes and counteract those of the enemy. It was while our army remained in this state of inaction, that our army in Tanjore, above 2000 men, with 12 pieces of cannon, under the command of Colonel Braithwaite, fell into the hands of Tippoo Saib, as above related.

Feb. 1782. Hyder-Ally, notwithstanding that in every encounter our main army kept the field, and marched and counter-marched whithersoever the relief of the distressed, or the hope of advantage and decisive engagement called them, by the possession of many strong-holds, and the devastation of the open country, had established himself so firmly in the Carnatic, that all our exertions to drive him out had hitherto proved, and were too likely still to prove abortive. To attack his dominions from the coast of Malabar, a measure which formed a part of the original plan for conducting the war, appeared now to be even more necessary, than had, at first, been imagined.

The first idea, as has already been observed, which occurred to the Governor-General, after sending a supply of men and treasure to Madras, was, to make a diversion in favour of our operations on the eastern, by an attack on Hyder on the western coast of the peninsula. This was connected with another object: peace with the Mahrattas. For this end, proposals for an accommodation with that people, were transmitted, in October, 1780, to the Administration of Poonah, in which the English offered to relinquish every conquest, except Ammedabad and Gualior: the first of which places, conquered

quered by an army from Bengal under General Goddard, had been guaranteed to our ally Futtu Sing; the second, reduced in a manner almost miraculous, by a small force commanded by Major Popham, to the Ranah of Gohud. The conditions required from the Mahrattas, were, that they should unite with the English in an offensive alliance against Hyder-Ally, of whose possessions, usurped from the Mahrattas, a conquest was to be made and equal division. It was stipulated that the Commander in Chief of the English army should immediately suspend all hostilities and military operations against the Mahrattas, whenever he should receive a requisition to that effect from the Paishwa; and that similar orders should be given, on his part, to the officer commanding the Mahratta armies. Copies of the proposed treaty were sent to the Select Committee of Bombay, and to General Goddard. To the General formal orders were also sent for a cessation of arms whenever the Mahratta Minister should require it: but, until a suspension of hostilities should be required, he was directed to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour.

Three months having elapsed from the date of the treaty, and no notification received from the Paishwa, either of its arrival, or of any re-

solution to which he had come after taking it into consideration, our military operations were continued with unremitted ardour, and, in the middle of January, 1781, the whole of the army assembled at Vifrabuy, a place about twenty miles inland from Bassein, which is accounted among the Hindoos a place of great sanctity, and also held in high reputation for its hot-wells, which are said to have great medicinal virtues. From this post it was determined to advance to Poonah, the seat of the Mahratta Government.

There is a chain of high hills, rising almost perpendicular from the plains below, which extends itself from north to south, along the Malabar coast, from Guzzarat to Cape Comorin, though indenting the land at different distances from the ocean. Between the gauts or passes that lead through this range of mountains into the country of the Mahrattas to the east, which from its great elevation is stiled the Bala Gaut, and the sea on the west, lies a tract of country of considerable extent, called the Concan. In this country, and at the foot of the hills and gauts that form its eastern boundary, there was a Mahratta army consisting of at least twenty thousand horse and foot, with about fifteen pieces of artillery. These were posted on the

the road to Bore Gaut, one of the most easy and practicable passes, and where the enemy expected that we meant to make our ascent into their country, as it had been made choice of for the same end by the Government of Bombay on a former occasion, and was in fact the nearest, and most convenient route to the Mahratta capital, which is not at a greater distance from this pass than five and forty miles. The Mahrattas, notwithstanding their numbers, opposed not any thing to the progress of our troops, excepting a few slight skirmishes, in which they always suffered defeat and disadvantage. But when our troops reached Campoley, on the 8th of February, at the entrance of the Bore Gaut, they were informed that the enemy had previously ascended this pass, and that there was reason to apprehend that they had come to a resolution of disputing it obstinately. Certain intelligence was brought, that about forty thousand infantry, with a suitable train of artillery, had taken post at the top of it, and that the whole Mahratta army, lately reinforced by fifteen thousand men under Holkar, and about half that number under another Chief called Roganaut Pundit, was encamped at no great distance.

General

General Goddard, considering that delay would not only increase the confidence of the enemy, but afford them an opportunity of constructing new works, which would render the pass every day more difficult and hazardous, resolved to seize it that very night by storm. The grenadiers, under the command of Colonel Parker, entered into the foot of the pass at midnight, and by steep and rugged paths, through narrow and winding defiles, ascended to its very summit, drove them from Condolah, and thus completely subdued all that could now obstruct their progress to the place of their destination. Captain Christie, of the engineers, who was well acquainted with the pass, having made the campaign of 1779, was, at his own request appointed to lead the storming party. For this piece of service, which he performed with equal spirit and success, he was recommended by the General to the attention of the Government of Bombay. The terror of the enemy, at the near approach of our army to their capital, was so great, that they entirely burnt and destroyed Tullicanoon, a very considerable town, about half way, and had actually made every preparation for setting fire to Poonah, by filling the houses with straw, and removing the inhabitants with their effects to the neighbourhood of Setterah.

This circumstance being known, with many other considerations, prevented our army from advancing to the capital, and confined the remaining operations of the campaign to a defence of the conquests already made. As our whole force did not exceed six thousand men, while that of the enemy was not less than eight times that number, it was impossible to make any division of their force, or even to leave a detachment sufficiently strong to defend the post at Bore Gaut, if they should advance beyond it. Unassisted by cavalry, they could not hope to command provisions, or even to procure forage, in a country desolated and ruined: and this circumstance would have obliged them to carry along with them a very ample supply of grain, which, of course, would have greatly encumbered and endangered their march.

It is further to be observed, that an invasion of the Deccan, where there was not any hope of their being joined by any party of the Mahratta state, promised not any event that could materially influence the state of the war, and far less decide its termination. Without any determinate object to be attained, or the hope of a revolution to encourage their continuance, for any length of time, in the country, all that they would have acquired, would have been the empty

empty glory of possessing for a few days, the Mahratta capital, in effecting a retreat from which they must have incurred the most imminent dangers.

Meanwhile, in repeated letters from the coast of Coromandel, the most pointed and urgent representations were continually made of the necessity of making a powerful diversion in favour of our army in the Carnatic. In these letters the disadvantages which that measure would relieve, and the farther losses which it would obviate, were painted in lively and alarming colours, without any consideration of the actual state of Bombay, or of the certain ruin with which that Presidency, if the force necessary to its security should be detached on a remote and separate service, would be menaced by the Mahrattas.

In these embarrassing circumstances, the Government of Bombay, in concert with General Goddard, strained every nerve to afford relief to that of Madras, without leaving themselves entirely defenceless. But the utmost exertions that could be made on the western side of India, at a time when they were engaged in a war with the whole Mahratta empire, was, to relieve the Madras troops at Tellicherry, by an equal proportion from Bombay, and to send the former round

round to the coast of Coromandel. General Goddard, in order to carry this expedient into execution, descended the Bore Gaut, and marched towards the sea coast. This movement was concerted with such secrecy and skill, that the whole of the artillery and heavy stores reached the foot of the post in safety, and without the smallest interruption from the enemy, who were astonished, on the morning of the 18th April, 1782, to find that our post at Condolah had been deserted during the preceding night.

In this retreat General Goddard committed the same error into which Colonel Hartley had fallen a few months before, in encamping, on that day, at the entrance of a narrow defile leading to the village of Choke, although he might have easily arrived at this place in the evening. In passing through the defile next morning he was so much annoyed by the enemy as to be under the necessity of halting at the village for three days. As the baggage was so enormous as to endanger the army, the General, during his stay at Choke, ordered all the spare arms to be buried, and desired all the officers, particularly those at the heads of departments, to lighten theirs as much as possible; which was done accordingly. In the evening of the day before that on which the army resumed their march,

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the General, having received from Captain Christie a sketch of the roads through which the troops were to pass, gave orders for Captain Macleod, a very gallant and experienced officer, who always commanded the advanced guard, as Captain of pioneers, with Captain Christie as his guide and aid-de-camp, to march at two o'clock in the morning, with all the European pioneers, a strong detachment of grenadier sepoys, Captain War's battalion, and all the baggage of the army, with all possible expedition, and take post at Barrow, on very strong ground, about eight miles on the road to Panwells, and there to wait for the main army, which was also to march at day-break, in profound silence.

The enemy, ignorant of this disposition and movement, suffered the baggage and advanced guard to march and take post at Barrow, unmolested. But the main army, sharply attacked from the moment they began to move, owed their preservation to their own undaunted courage, and the nature of the country, which did not admit of the action of cavalry. The General, to Captain Christie who went to congratulate him after his arrival at the appointed station, on the success of his conduct, said, that "If the baggage, with the advanced guard, had

“ had not marched as they did, it would have
“ been the worst day that the Company ever
“ saw.” In this retreat, Colonel Parker, the
second in command, lost his life.

The enemy, previously to the arrival of our army at Barrow, in order to distress our troops, had cut through the banks of a large pond. They now became the victims of their own contrivance. They were obliged, through want of water, to go back for it to the village of Choke ; which afforded General Goddard an opportunity of proceeding, without molestation, to Panwells, where he fixed his camp. A few days after this the troops divided. Those of the Bengal Establishment returned by land to Surat : the Bombay detachment returned to the Presidency.

While the army were disposed in winter quarters, General Goddard, notwithstanding the tempestuous weather, which renders navigation on the coast of Malabar, at that season, extremely dangerous, and almost impracticable, sailed for Surat, where he arrived on the second of August. Soon after his arrival, he effected an interview with Futtu Sing, and obtained from that Chief a body of five thousand horse for the service of the ensuing campaign, which
exceeded

exceeded by two thousand the number he was obliged to furnish by treaty. This important object being accomplished, and such military arrangements being made as were not only necessary for the protection of Guzzarat, but for co-operating with the Bengal detachment stationed on the northern confines of Malva, the General returned to Bombay.

Immediately after the return of the enemy from the Gauts, the greater part of the Madras detachment, relieved by troops from Bombay, agreeably to the resolution above mentioned, was sent round from Tellicherry to the coast of Coromandel.

Tellicherry is a valuable settlement upon the coast of Malabar, dependant on the Presidency of Bombay. It has a good road for shipping; and here the coasting vessels between Bombay and the coast of Coromandel are supplied with refreshments. A brisk commerce has been carried on at this place, particularly in the pepper trade, ever since the first discovery of India by Europeans. After the capture of Mahée from the French, it was garrisoned by the Madras detachment, who defended it against the attacks of the Nairs, tributary to Hyder-Ally.

On

On the 7th of May, 1781, Major William Abington arrived at Tellicherry, with a relief to the Garrison, consisting of a detachment of artillery, one company of infantry, and the 10th and 11th battalions of sepoys. After landing his troops, which were immediately sent to relieve the Madras Europeans and sepoys in various parts of the lines, his first care was to visit and inspect the fortifications. The lines were of great extent, reaching from Moylan to Codoley, and including the shore near eight miles in circumference. They had of late been much neglected, on a supposition that the settlement was to have been withdrawn; and, in many places, they exhibited the appearance of deformed and defenceless ruins. These circumstances, joined to the situation of the enemy, suggested to the Major the idea of making an attack, instead of pursuing defensive operations; but that design not being approved of by the Madras Commander, was dropt. On the 15th, Major Cotgrave embarked with the Madras troops, and left the garrison to the charge of Major Abington.

A trust of such difficulty was not to be discharged successfully by common genius, nor confined experience in the art of war. Lines of vast extent, and ruinous condition, were to

be repaired and defended by a small number of troops; while they were continually assailed by a large army (great part of Hyder's best troops) of subtle, fierce, and obstinate barbarians. The reparation of the works became the grand object of the Major's attention. In a few days a small battery was opened with considerable effect. The most judicious orders were, at the same time, issued to the out-posts, to prevent the danger of a sudden attack.

A hircarrah sent out in quest of intelligence, returned with an account, that the enemy's force, altogether, exceeded not twelve thousand; that Surdar Cawn, their leader, had lately received some letters respecting Hyder-Ally, which seemed to affect his spirits; but that, notwithstanding his visible dejection, he still continued to assure his officers and men of his fixed intention never to quit the place 'till he had taken Tellicherry. Two days after, accounts arrived, which proved to be erroneous, of this formidable Chief's being killed by a cannon shot, as he was reconnoitering the lines.

The fortifications still continued to be repaired and improved; not, however, without great interruption and annoyance from the enemy. This system of defence was not embraced by
Major

Major Abington from choice, but necessity. He might, indeed, have made more sallies, and dislodged the enemy from some of their posts; but he saw the absurdity of taking posts which he wanted troops to defend, while he could not spare a single man from duty to act as a reserve. For three whole months the lines remained unbroken, the enemy were detected and counteracted in every stratagem, and in every attack repulsed with loss.

Early in the morning of the 24th of August, they made a vigorous assault upon the lines between Wood's Post and the Green Redoubt, and, owing to the negligence of the auxiliaries, about three hundred rushed within our out-works. The Moplas gave way at first, but, observing that the sepoy's preserved their wonted spirit and bravery, they suffered themselves to be rallied, and returning to the attack, made dreadful havock among the assailants. Twenty of them were killed within the lines, above sixty lay between the ditch and abattie, and great numbers all along the field. Had the morning been clear, their loss must have been far more considerable. On the part of the garrison, the loss was only five wounded.

On the 6th of the following month, another attempt was made, by three parties of a thousand each, at different places. They advanced under cover of a very thick fog, got in by one of the posts defended by the irregulars, and took post at Wood's Redoubt with two stand of colours. They were very soon dislodged by the sepoy, sixteen being killed on the platform and the rock below, and above thirty driven into the sea. Indeed their loss was not exactly known, the same fog which favoured their approach enabling them to carry off their dead unobserved.

Notwithstanding these successes, the situation of Major Abington and his garrison was very distressful. His dispatches which he had sent to Bombay, requesting supplies of men and military stores, had been lost at sea. A heavy and almost continual cannonade from the besiegers, together with excessive fatigue, daily lessened the number of his effective men, and those that remained were harrassed with the double duty of soldiers and labourers. For the enemy had run several mines with effect under the works, and some even under the lines and counterescarp of the ditch at Fort Moylan, to discover and destroy which, required unceasing toil. They had also run their trenches, in many places,
within

within a yard of our lines. The engineers were indeed very successful in counteracting these subterraneous approaches, and thereby so disconcerted the besiegers, that, concluding their measures to be betrayed by their Captain of pioneers, they cut off his nose and ears: but such advantages were frequently rendered imperfect and abortive by the scarcity of ammunition.

On the 13th of November, in the evening, a Niar* entered at Fort Moylan, with two human heads in a basket, in such a state of putridity as not to be approached. They belonged, he said, to the Zamorin and his minister; and he gave this account of the lamentable fate of that unfortunate prince. About twelve days before, he had left his brothers at Toour, to go to Manjeree, a village situated about five leagues above Calicut, designing to collect his share of the harvest; a practice which, though not publicly authorized by Hyder's government, had for some years been connived at, but always disputed by the people, particularly the Moplas. The prince brought with him only an hundred of his own Niars, but, in his way to Manjeree, he was joined by several more, for the sake of plunder. A number of these had swords and

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targets,

* The Niars were the antient natives of the Malabar coast.

targets, some had lances, and others muskets; but all were ill provided with ammunition, not having more than two or three rounds each. They arrived at Manjeree, and collected some rain. In the mean time, about eight hundred Moplas* secretly assembled, and in the night, surrounding the place where the prince and his party lay, surprized them the next morning in such confusion, that few had time to make any resistance. Every one consulting his own safety, the prince was soon deserted by all his people; and, thinking to conceal himself from the Moplas till an opportunity should offer of making his escape, he jumped into a deep pit overgrown with bushes. Of the prince's party, twenty, with his minister, were killed, and three taken prisoners, of whom this Niar was one. Those who escaped rallied, and made some attempts to rescue the prince, or carry off his body if he should be killed; but they were repulsed by the Moplas, who, after a long and fruitless search, threatened to kill their prisoners, unless they discovered the retreat of their master. One of them, hoping to save his own life, betrayed that of his prince, by pointing to the place where he was concealed.

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* A sect of Mussulmans, originally Arabian merchants, settled on the Malabar coast for trade.

The Moplas immediately shot him dead, dragged up his body, and having cut off his head, obliged the prisoners to carry it, together with that of his minister, to Calicut, from whence they were sent to Surdar Cawn. At this piteous spectacle the savage Chief was greatly pleased; but, to avoid the effluvia, he ordered them to be placed at a distance from him, and the prisoners to be unbound and released. The Cawn having soon after retired into his tent, and his guards being dispersed, it appeared not impossible to the faithful Niar to save his master's head from suffering greater indignities, and secure it a burial; he therefore watched his opportunity, took up the basket, and made his escape into the lines of Tellicherry.

The warm reception which the enemy had found in repeated attempts to storm the lines, had given them a disgust at that mode of attack, and they now kept up a heavy cannonade, with discharges of musquetry, and running of mines in various directions. This last, by the great number of their working people, they were enabled to pursue with ease and expedition; so that, in spite of all the vigilance and assiduity of the garrison, frequent and formidable breaches were made in the lines; but to these the sepoys of the enemy would never advance, though urged on by threats, stripes, and even wounds.

In the midst of these efforts of gallant perseverance, a letter arrived from the Governor and Select Committee of Bombay, declaring their utter inability to make any farther provision for the maintenance of Tellicherry, and their determination to withdraw from the place; pointing out, likewise, what appeared to them the safest method of retreat, and the probable assistance which might be expected from the royal squadron. Instead of executing, instead even of publishing this absurd and cruel plan, Major Abington carefully concealed it, together with his own emotions of disgust and anxiety. Preserving still the appearance of security and intrepidity, he shewed the impossibility of performing their orders, without the most ruinous consequences. By arguments flowing from a benevolent heart, as well as a passion for military glory, he pointed out the miseries that must await the abandoned settlement, and the improbability of even escape to the troops. Alluding, probably, to the disasters of other places in similar situations, he declared himself unequal to the task of delivering brave men up to famine or poison; and pathetically intreated to be released from a command, which exposed his honour to ruin, and his name to execration. He informed them, at the same time, that if he could be supplied with a small reinforcement

of troops and warlike stores, he would answer for the safety of the place, and of the surrounding country.

His remonstrance had the desired effect. A packet soon arrived express from Bombay, with intelligence of the Committee's resolution of sending a force, consisting of two battalions of sepoy and forty artillery, with four six-pounders, for the relief of the settlement. Elated by the prospect of such aid, the Major neglected no means of improving it. While he continued successfully his defensive operations, he formed an admirable plan for a grand sally and attack on Surdar Cawn's camp; and dispatched proper instructions to the neighbouring potentates, in alliance with the Company, for regulating their co-operations. Of these, the King of Cotiore was chief, who, during the siege, had constantly signified his friendly intentions. The Kings of Zamorin and Travancore were also addressed; but none of these took any part in raising the siege.

The reinforcements being all arrived, and every proper disposition made for the sally and attack, the troops, sixteen hundred in number, on the 8th of January, 1782, at two o'clock in the morning, were under arms, and at three
marched

marched in files, by the center to the Brass Pagoda, an important station in the lines, which takes its name from a covering of brass plates on a large and venerable Gentoo place of worship. Here the engineer had opened a space through which the troops might march out of the lines. They halted 'till near four o'clock, that they might arrive at the enemy's camp just at the dawning of the day. Having blown, according to orders, the priming powder out of the pans of their guns, they marched in profound silence, through marshy ground, till they turned Putney Hill, where a battery was erected that scoured the camp, situated in its rear. This the advanced party attacked and took without suffering the smallest loss. At the same time, the main body formed the line on the shoulder of the hill, facing the enemy's camp, which they had evacuated in the greatest confusion. Surdar Cawn, their General, was discovered on horseback, at some distance, leading on a party of his men. Another party, drawn together in a confused manner, on the extremity of Bench-Hill, adjoining to that of Putney, was gallantly dispersed by the Lieutenants Hodges and Wheldon, with two companies of sepoy. The line, in the mean time, advanced through the enemy's camp, by files, in two columns. Surdar Cawn, after some resistance,

ance, being wounded in the ankle, threw himself, with many of his bravest and most faithful followers, into a fortified house, formed in the cavity of a rock, at Corichee, the mansion of his women and the repository of his treasures, determined not to survive the disgrace of a defeat, but to defend himself to the last extremity. The men, in token of desperation, loosing their hair, displayed colours on the house, with the sound of horns and other martial music.

In this situation, that resolute body of men waited to receive our troops, when Lieutenant Woodington, the Major of Brigade, with a part of the grenadier sepoys, halted to attack the house, and, whilst he was giving orders to his men, was wounded through both his legs with a musket ball. The main body, under Major Abington and Captain Carpenter, soon came up, and, about the same time, a party of marines and sepoys under Captain Pruin and Lieutenant Bute, that had been landed from the vessels in the rear of the house, which was thus completely surrounded. This habitation, portefires being put in the guns, and fired on the thatched roof, by the contrivance of the Engineer, was set on fire, and the defendants, after a resistance of two hours, were compelled to surrender or to perish in the flames.

The success of this day was very great. The enemy's General, and many officers of distinction, with upwards of 2000 men, were taken prisoners. All their guns, more than fifty in number, fell into the hands of the victors, with much ammunition, two lacks of rupees, a large collection of grain, seven elephants, a great deal of cordage and timber, and many horses and draught bullocks.

But the general joy was not a little damped by the situation of Lieutenant Woodington, the only European officer who was wounded on this memorable occasion, and whose loss to the army, for he was a very meritorious and active officer, was greatly lamented.

X When the fortified house, in which the unfortunate Surdar Cawn made his last stand, was set on fire, many of his family and other adherents, in order to avoid the flames, began to drop down from the walls, amidst the fire of the sepoys. Among these were seven of the finest women of the east, who composed the Cawn's seraglio. Captain Christie, who happened to pass by the spot where the women threw themselves down from the battlements of the haram, immediately stopt the firing, at the hazard of his life, ran up to their assistance, and received them,

them, one after another, in his arms. In the mean time, a party of sailors belonging to the Bombay cruizers, that had co-operated with the land forces, in this attack on Surdar Cawn's last refuge, came up, and, for the sake of plunder, began to tear off the womens ear-rings, while these unfortunate ladies, afraid of even ruder treatment, and, uncertain of their fate, endeavoured to put an end to their existence. But Captain Christie, partly by his authority as an officer, and partly by a seasonable distribution of the jewels, in which the ladies cheerfully seconded him, was enabled, though with difficulty, to save them from farther violence, by restoring order among the sailors. The poor women, when they found themselves under secure protection, gave vent to their gratitude, in embracing the knees, and bathing the feet of their protector with tears of joy. Captain Christie, accompanied by Lieutenant Hawkes of the artillery, who had come up to lend his assistance in this generous act of gallantry, immediately conducted them to the commanding officer. They were then returned, safe, to their lord, who had testified the most agonizing anxiety concerning their fate. When they came in his presence, he looked sternly in their faces, and manifested symptoms of trouble, anguish, and despair. But, after he had conversed with
them

them for some time, his countenance softened into tears of joy, and he expressed the strongest emotions of gratitude for the delicate manner in which his women had been treated by the British officers. "You," said he, "enjoy the fortune of this day, and you deserve it. Go, therefore, to a room (which he described) in the fortified house, where you will find, for your reward, two lacks of rupees." Above twenty thousand pounds, was, accordingly, divided among the army.

The Cawn, when he was taken, expected immediate death, enquired why it was delayed, and regarded the humanity of the English, in sparing him, with astonishment. "If you mean," said he, to the officers into whose hands he fell, "to save my life, restore my wives and my children."—The joy that sprung up in his mind, on receiving this pledge of the merciful intentions of the English, was not lasting. He died, soon after, of grief and agony of mind, rather than any consequence of his wound, desiring, as the last favour from Major Abington, that his family might be sent to Seringapatam. His request was readily granted, and punctually performed.

In the course of that and the day following, all the enemy's posts surrendered in succession. The possessions of the victors now extended as far as Ajar to the north, and Inilanda to the south. Of spoils they collected, altogether, one thousand two hundred French firelocks, four brass field-pieces, from fifty to sixty iron guns of various calibres, thirteen elephants, a number of horses, and a great quantity of powder, shot, shells, and other stores. Their loss did not exceed nine killed, and forty-nine wounded: while, of the enemy, five hundred were killed or drowned in the Mahé river, a vast number wounded, and one thousand five hundred, including many of their principal officers, sent prisoners to Tellicherry.

For these services, equally brilliant and important, Sir Eyre Coote, in a letter dated at Fort St. George, the 6th of February, 1782, returned his thanks to Major Abington, and the troops under his command, in the warmest terms.

Major Abington's views were now turned towards the settlement and security of his conquests. Remaining encamped on the field of victory, his first care was to reinstate the several kings and princes, who had been forced, by the cruelties

cruelties of Surdar Cawn, to conceal themselves and their families in woods and swamps, for near three years. The only prince on the Malabar coast who had escaped oppression and violence was the King of Travancore. — His means of defence were extraordinary and romantic. Around his capital, and chief province, he suffered the woods to grow for a number of years, 'till they formed an impenetrable belt of great depth. This, cut into labyrinths, afforded easy egress to his people, and rendered all attacks from without impracticable. Immured within this natural fortification, he encouraged the cultivation of arts and sciences; he invited the approach of men of genius and knowledge; he cultivated the friendship of the Bramins, and was himself admitted into their society, by the ceremony of passing through a golden cow, which became the property of the Bramins, the cow being sacred in India, as formerly in Egypt; and by preparing his own military stores, casting cannon, making gun-powder, &c. he rendered himself independent of foreign aid. The subjects of his remoter provinces, who, to avoid the ravages of war, had taken refuge within the woody circle, now returned, with their families and effects, to their former habitations.

The Kings of Cotiote and Cartinad, with the Nambiers of Invanard, were, on various conditions, restored to their sovereignties and possessions. To have seized on those countries, and annexed them to the other conquests of the Company, would have been partly unjust, and was in fact impossible.---The views of Major Abington, therefore, in restoring them, were solid and just; for they pointed to the establishment of peace on a permanent basis, by conciliating the minds of the princes and people, and securing their assistance on any future emergencies.

In such transactions, and in demolishing the enemy's works, sending off their stores, and planting proper guards at the forts, the Major was employed 'till the 3d of February; when, having settled every thing in the best manner that circumstances would permit, he marched towards Callicut. Before that fort he arrived on the morning of the 12th, and took post within two hundred yards of the walls. Next day he had the good fortune to blow up, by a shell, part of the grand magazine, which so totally exposed the garrison to an assault, that they immediately surrendered. Upwards of sixty iron guns, mounted, were found in the fort, with great quantities of

military stores : several small and large vessels lying in different rivers with naval stores, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

Colonel Humberstone arriving soon after at Callicut, claimed the command of the army, as being senior officer to Major Abington : which leads us back to that military and naval force, originally intended for the reduction of the Cape of Good Hope, which sailed from England in 1781.

In the beginning of 1780, a secret expedition was submitted to his Majesty's Cabinet-Ministers, the original object of which was generally supposed to be some of the Spanish settlements in South America : though, on the breaking out of the Dutch war, its destination was changed to another quarter. Two new regiments of one thousand men each, viz. the 98th and the 100th, were completed in January, 1781, by Mr. William Fullarton, the author of the plan, the representative of an antient family of that name in Airshire, and Mr. Mackenzie Humberstone, a young gentleman, of great hopes, of the family of Seaforth.—These gentlemen, who had been at a great expence in raising and disciplining their regiments, were allowed the rank of

of Lieutenant Colonel, during the time of the war only. To the troops under Mackenzie and Fullarton were added the 2d battalion of the 42d regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Macleod, Chief of that name and clan, and long possessed of a large property in the Isle of Sky, one of the islands on the western coast of Scotland; four companies from other regiments, commanded by Major Robert Douglas, with a detachment of royal artillery, under Lieutenant Hislop. The whole of this force was to be headed by Major-General William Meadows, an officer of approved abilities. The fleet which carried it from Spithead in March, 1781, was commanded by Commodore Johnstone, an officer who possessed the reputation of great activity and intrepid courage. It consisted of two ships of the line, three of 50 guns, three frigates of 32 guns, two sloops of war, two cutters, the *Infernal* fire-ship, and the *Terror* bomb-ketch, two ordnance store-ships, seven armed transports, with coppered bottoms, four hired uncoppered transports, five victuallers, and thirteen Indiamen: the whole making forty-five sail, replete with troops, and stores of every kind for a long voyage, and 10,000 stand of arms. This fleet anchored in Praya Bay, in the Island of St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verds, on the 10th of April. On the 16th, at eight in the morning, the *Isis*,

being the ship that was stationed the furthest out at sea, made a signal that there was a strange fleet in sight. All officers were immediately ordered to repair on board; and about nine, a fleet of fifteen sail being now in view, a signal was made to clear the ships for action. The strange fleet now separated into two divisions: one of ten, the other of five ships. The first was a convoy; the last, ships of war. At half past nine, the headmost of these entered the Bay, under French colours, the other four following in a line a-head. It was the French fleet under the command of the celebrated Suffrein. He lost not a moment to begin a furious attack on the English, who had reserved their fire, from a notion that the French Admiral would not, by committing hostilities in a neutral port, violate the laws of nations. The British fleet, though scarcely yet clear for action, and with seven hundred of their best seamen on shore, opened on the enemy, and returned their fire with equal vigour. The action was continued with great heat about an hour, when the French Commander gave the signal for his fleet to bear away, and pursue their destination. It was past three o'clock, afternoon, before our squadron flipt their cables to go in pursuit of them; though they had seized and carried off the Infernal fire-ship, and the Hinchinbrook Indiaman,

as well as taken one of their own disabled ships in tow, and given orders to one of our victuallers, that they had manned, to follow, which she was doing. They came abreast with the enemy, by the time the sun was going down, about six o'clock. Though our Commodore was to the windward of the French, he did not bring them to an action. He kept abreast of them till midnight: but in the morning not one of them was to be seen. The three ships seized by the French found means to make their escape, and came safely into the Bay of Praya some days after.

On the 1st day of May, our fleet, being now nearly refitted, was ordered to unmoor, and, the next morning, to weigh anchor. About four o'clock afternoon, the whole fleet was under sail. The north-east trade-wind carried them within ~~thirty~~^{three} degrees of the line; after which another trade-wind brought them to the Island of Trinidad, a romantic but desolate island, claimed by the Portuguese as the first discoverers, opposite to the coast of South America. They lay in sight of that island for two days. Hitherto, both our officers and men were ignorant of their destination: but now, the fleet proceeded in a south-easterly course, avowedly for the Cape of Good Hope. The troops being removed, on the 19th of June, out of eight

Indiamen, and crouded into the other ships of the fleet, those Indiamen pursued their voyage : and one Indiaman having parted from our squadron on the 25th of May, for St. Helen's, there remained now only four out of the thirteen which sailed from Spithead, namely, the Osterley, Latham, Locko, and Valentine. A Dutch prize was brought into our fleet on the 1st of July, by some of our frigates. The Dutchman being outward-bound, had on board 60,000*l.* in bullion : but, what was of greater consequence to our fleet, now within sixty-five leagues of the Cape, the packet which it carried, contained information of considerable importance to the attainment of their chief object. Suffrein, with his ships of war, a frigate, and one or two of his transports, had arrived in False Bay. The guns and men of the disabled ship of war, called the Hannibal, which he had dragged along with the rest of his squadron under jury masts, were landed, and placed in strong batteries erected on purpose for receiving them. In the Bay of Saldannah, from twenty to twenty-five leagues distant, five homeward-bound Dutch Indiamen had taken shelter, and, as soon as they should be informed that the English were arrived off the Cape, they were to slip out, and sail directly for Europe. In consequence of this intelligence, the fleet lay to, the night of the 9th,
and

and all the 10th, in order to deliberate what was best to be done. On the 21st, about ten in the forenoon, they entered Saldannah Bay, where they took, almost without resistance, the five ships of which they had received such exact intelligence, with two of smaller value. The whole were estimated considerably above 800000*l*. but one of them was burnt by her crew, and two of them unfortunately lost in their passage to England. On the 26th, the prizes, with some transports, and on the 28th, Commodore Johnstone, with all the ships of war, excepting four, having previously conducted what remained of the fleet, passed Table Land and False Bay. The General, while our fleet lay yet in Saldannah Bay, demanded of the Commodore in public, because he found it a very difficult matter to obtain an official answer from that impracticable man on any subject, whether he would land him and his soldiers in Table Bay. The Commodore replied in the affirmative; but added, that he would not stay a moment to aid him, in case of discomfiture.

The same packet which fortunately directed Commodore Johnstone to Saldannah Bay, determined General Meadows, after the Commodore's answer, to go onward to India. For he had gleaned from sundry Dutch letters, some

intelligence, though imperfect, of the war with Hyder-Ally, the excision or capture of Colonel Baillie's army, and the distress of the English settlements in that part of the world. Our reduced fleet now consisted of the *Hero*, *Monmouth*, and *Isis* ships of war, the coppered transports, the two ordnance store-ships, and four Indiamen: the whole under the command of Captain James Alms, of the *Monmouth*. The Active frigate was sent forward to India with dispatches. The Prince of Ternate, with his three sons, and the Prince of Tidore, with his only son, who were relieved from bondage with the Dutch at Saldannah, were taken on board the *Hero*, to be restored to their friends and the possession of their territories. The first of these unfortunate families had been brought prisoners to the Cape six years before, and the last had been there three years. It was the intention of the Dutch to have sent those captives, whose only crime was, their opposition to the tyranny of their oppressors, to Europe, in the same ships that were seized by our Squadron at Saldannah.

Commodore Alms, with all the ships under his command, anchored safely in the Bay of Zamooda, off the watering place in Johanna, the chief of the Comorrah Islands, situated between

tween Madagascar and the coast of Africa, on Sunday the 2d of September, 1781. Here he landed all his sick men, consisting of one third of the fleet and army. They were afflicted chiefly with the scurvy: but not a few with dysenteries and ulcers. The greatest part of all our invalids recovered, during the twenty-two days they remained in that delightful place.

On the 24th of September, our fleet, setting sail from Johanna, pursued their destination. After a calm which lasted from the 11th of October to the 5th of November, the shifting of the monsoon obliged them, though only two hundred and sixty leagues from Bombay, to steer in a north-easterly course, which brought them within sight of the land of Arabia Felix on the 15th. They beat off the Arabian coast, endeavouring to work up to the eastward, but without success, till the 26th, when they stood in, and anchored in Morabat Bay. The Indians, having taken the 42d regiment on board, out of the transports, fell to leeward with the current, and were obliged to go into Kiffin Bay, distant about twenty leagues, from whence they afterward joined the fleet.

The ships of war, the Monmouth, Hero, Isis, and the Manilla, with the Royal Charlotte and Raikes,

Raikes, having on board the 98th regiment, proceeded, on the 6th of December, to join Admiral Hughes; leaving the 42d and 100th regiments, and four additional companies, in the coppered transports and Indiamen; and the conduct of the convoy was given to Captain Smith of the San Carlos: but the Charlotte and Raikes, having each sprung a top-mast, were obliged to put back and join the transports and Indiamen in Morabat Bay. General Meadows and Colonel Fullarton were on board the ships of war. Colonel Mackenzie Humberstone was left to command the troops in the transports, with those that had joined them in the Raikes and Royal Charlotte. The men of war joined our squadron, consisting of seven double decked ships and a frigate, in the roads of Madras, on the 12th of October, 1782. Colonel Humberstone's squadron, consisting of thirteen sail, inclusive of a Portuguese ship, which furnished them with wines, left Morabat on the 9th of December, 1781, and arrived at Bombay on the morning of the 22d of January, the year following.

The junction of the four ships of war, with the squadron under Sir Edward Hughes, at this time, was most fortunate. For, on the 13th of February, 1782, a French armament, of thirteen ships

ships of the line, with a number of frigates and transports, under the command of that great naval officer Monsieur de Suffrein, hove in sight, reconnoitred Madras, and anchored a few miles to the windward of the English Admiral. Upon the 14th, Suffrein passed Madras, in line of battle to the southward. Towards the evening of that day, Sir Edward Hughes, having received on board the 93th regiment, weighed anchor and stood after him. On the 15th the fleets met, and a partial action commenced. Night parted them: but, in the morning, the enemy's ships of war, to the number of twelve of the line of battle, with a frigate, appeared in view, bearing east of the English fleet, at the distance of four leagues, while sixteen sail of their frigates and transports, about the distance of three to the west, steered directly for Pondicherry. Our Admiral, on this, instantly made the signal for a general chase to the south-west, in order, if possible, to come up with the transports. Six of the enemy's ships and vessels, accordingly, fell into our hands, five of which were English, taken to the northward of Madras: the sixth was the *Lauriston*, a transport, having on board many French officers, three hundred men of the regiment of *Lauzun*, and laden with all kinds of ammunition. This ship was taken by Captain Lumley of the *Isis*. The other vessels, after the Frenchmen

men were taken out of them, were sent with their own crews to Negapatnam.

Monfieur de Suffrein, having difcovered the intention of the Englifh Admiral to chace and take his tranfports, loft not a moment to make all the fail after him that was in his power. A hot engagement took place on the 17th, in which the French Admiral, having the advantage of fqualls from the N.N.E. advanced on the rear of our line, in an irregular double line a-breast, with great celerity. Sir Edward Hughes, in order to draw the rear of his line clofer to the center, and to prevent the enemy from breaking in, and attacking it when feparated, at half paff noon, made the fignal for our Squadron to form the line of battle a-breast. At three in the afternoon, the enemy ftill pushing onward to our rear in a double line a-breast, the Admiral again altered his courfe in the line, in order to draw his rear fhips ftill clofer to the center: but, at forty minutes after three, finding it impoffible to avoid the enemy's attack, under all the difadvantages of very little wind and a leeward ftation, he made the fignal to form at once into the line of battle a-head. At four, the Exeter, the fternmoft fhip in our rear, when formed in line of battle a-head on the larboard tack, not being quite clofed to her fecond a-head, three
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of the enemy's ships in the first line, headed by Suffrein himself in the *Hero*, moved along the outside of the first line to our center, which was formed by Sir Edward Hughes, on board the *Superbe*. The other French ships, too, of the second line, advanced as far as the *Superbe*, but no farther. Thus, eight of the enemy's best ships were engaged in an attack on five of ours. The van of our fleet, consisting of the *Monmouth*, *Eagle*, *Burford*, and *Worcester*, could neither be brought into the engagement, without tacking on the enemy, nor tack on the enemy for want of wind. The five ships of our center and rear, thus cut off from the van, sorely pressed by the enemy, and greatly disabled in their masts, yards, sails, and rigging, could not follow the other four without the utmost hazard of entire separation. But, at six in the afternoon, a squall of wind from the south-east, brought the van of our line round, and a-head on the enemy to the north-east, when the engagement was renewed by the starboard guns of our other five ships, with great spirit and alacrity. The approach of night parted the two fleets: the French hauled their wind, and stood to north-east: the English sailed with a favourable wind for Trincomalée, to repair the damages sustained in this engagement. Captain Reynolds
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of the Exeter was killed, and Captain Stevens of the Superbe died of his wounds.

Monfieur de Suffrein came to anchor in the neighbourhood of Porto Novo, where, in consequence of the alliance between his nation and Hyder, he landed three thousand four hundred men: the first division of that force, which, under the command of the Marquis de Buffy, was intended to subvert the English power in India. The fort of Cuddalore, weakly garri-soned, immediately became a place of arms and of comfort to the French troops. Sir Edward Hughes, having effected the necessary repairs, sailed from Trincomalée on the 4th of March, and on the 12th arrived at Madras.

Towards the end of March, intelligence arrived that Monfieur Suffrein had suddenly slipped from Porto Novo, and put to sea.—He had learned from a foreign vessel that an English fleet was upon the coast, and it became, of course, his object to intercept it. But Sir Edward Hughes immediately got under way, and in sight of the flag-staff of Fort St. George fell in with the fleet of which the French was in pursuit, consisting of seven Indiamen, with the 78th regiment on board, eight hundred brave
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Highlanders, under convoy of two line of battle ships, the *Magnanime* and the *Sultan*. He ordered the men of war to join him, recruited himself from the merchant ships, and stood directly for Trincomalée, there to land a reinforcement, and military stores for the garrison. Sir Edward prudently studied to decline an engagement, till he should land the troops and stores. It was the business of Suffrein, on the other hand, to court an action: he was upon an enemy's coast, without any harbour near, where he might shelter and repair his ships: and he was engaged in a daring enterprise, which required both ability and prompt execution.

The English and French Admirals, pursuing their respective views, on the 12th of April, braced up to the wind, which blew from the land on the west. Sir Edward Hughes had gained the weather-gage of the enemy, and had reason to look with considerable assurance for the accomplishment of his object, when suddenly the wind changed to the east, leaving the English fleet so alarmingly close to the banks that lay near to Jaffanapatam, that one of the ships actually felt the ground. Suffrein saw his advantage, bore down, and began the battle. The number of guns, on both sides, was nearly equal:

equal: but the French fleet was full of men, while the English was short of its complement, and sickly. The action was broken off by the darkness of the night. The nature or character of this sea-fight may be learned from this circumstance, that for seven days the fleets lay within random shot, without attempting any attack, or giving the least molestation to each other. Monsieur Suffrein, who was enabled by the number of his hands to bring his ships first into order, after making a parade of offering battle, failed, for the purpose of complete repairs, to Batacalo, in the island of Ceylon. Sir Edward Hughes, for the same purpose, entered the harbour of Trincomalée.

The English army had now remained a considerable time at the Mount: when, on the 17th of April, it was put in motion for the relief of Parmacoil. But the General, on his arrival at Carangooly, was informed that Parmacoil had surrendered on terms, on May the 16th. On the 24th, the army encamped at Vandewash. The general orders of this day, for the purpose of confirming the courage of our men, looked back to the victory obtained by Sir Eyre Coote over the unfortunate French General, Count Lally, in 1760. The camp was pitched on the spot where that victory was obtained, and an extraordinary

dinary batta was issued out to the troops. But, on the following morning, it was found necessary, on account of water, to remove the camp to the opposite side of the fort.

Hyder-Ally lay encamped in a strong post on the Red Hills, near Parmacoil, from which various movements of the English General aimed to draw him, in vain. But the magazines of Hyder being deposited in the strong fort of Arnée, Sir Eyre Coote conceived that a march towards that place, might induce the enemy, for the safety of his stores, to hazard an engagement. The General, therefore, turning his back on Parmacoil, and leaving his last ground fifteen miles in the rear, encamped at Desore. A summons was sent, on the 31st, to the fort of Chittaput, to surrender to the arms of the English: to which the Keeladar, encouraged by the nearness of Hyder, in terms of great haughtiness, bade defiance. Our army, therefore, passed this place on the 1st of June, and encamped on the west and south side of the river, with an opening of three miles between them and the fortrefs of Arnée. Hyder, as soon as he received intelligence that Sir Eyre Coote had struck into the road leading to Chittaput and Arnée, immediately marched after him, and coming over a space of forty-three miles in

two days, took up his head quarters in Chit-taput, on the evening of the same day in which our troops sat down in the encampment just described.

Although Hyder, when he has an object in view that requires expedition, observes not any order of march, and the whole country appears to be in motion, yet, his innumerable bodies of horse guard him against surprize, and enable him, before such an army as ours can strike any blow of importance, to form his troops in order of battle. It may, perhaps, at the same time, afford some measure of gratification to European curiosity, to be informed, that the undisciplined troops of Asia, generally inflamed with bang and other intoxicating drugs, pour forth as they advance, a torrent of menacing and abusive language on their adversaries. Every expression of contempt and aversion, every threat, fitted to make an impression of terror, or to excite ideas of horror, that custom readily presents, or inventive fancy can suggest, accompanies the utmost ferocity of looks, voice, and gesture. A murmuring sound, with clouds of dust, announce their approach, while they are yet at the distance of several miles. As they advance, their accents are more and more distinctly heard, until at last, with their eyes fixed, and weapons

weapons pointed at some individual, they devote him, with many execrations, to destruction; giving his flesh, like the heroes in Homer, and the Philistine warriors, * to the dogs, and the birds of the air, and the beasts of the field: The numbers of the Asiatic armies, the ferocity of their manner, and the novelty of their appearance, would unnerve and overcome the hearts of the small European bodies that are opposed to them in the field of battle, if experience had not sufficiently proved, how much the silence of discipline excels barbarian noise, and uniformity of design and action, the desultory efforts of brutal force, acting by starts, and liable to the contagion of accidental impression.

Sir Eyre Coote, on the 2d of June, with his eye fixed on Hyder's valuable deposits at Arnée, began to move towards that important place before break of day. But no sooner had the approach of the sun enlightened the horizon, than a heavy cannonade, of eighteen and twenty-four pounders, was opened on our rear, and fell very near it. Our army came twice to the right about, and the baggage was brought twice thro' the files, before it was found possible to ascertain the quarter from whence the enemy's fire proceeded. The General called a consultation

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of his officers, and encouraged them to deliver their sentiments concerning the present situation of affairs, without reserve. Some were of opinion that the enemy's horse would charge in squadron: others agreed, in part, with this opinion; but added, that, after the baggage should be thrown into confusion, they would probably come round by a rapid wheel, and charge our troops in the rear. The reports that continued to be made from that quarter, having incontestibly proved that it was here that the enemy designed to make their principal attack, the General, without farther deliberation, brought about the line, and drew it up in order to receive them. But no sooner were our troops formed to the rear, than a division of the enemy, commanded by Tippoo Saib, moved rapidly to Ar-née, carried away the treasure, gave orders to the Commandant, and reinforced the garrison. The enemy, in the mean time, occupied all the circumjacent grounds; and their cavalry, galloping to and fro in every direction, harraressed the English, who possessed a low situation, and galled them not a little, while they were forming to the rear in order of battle. The General made such dispositions as might best remedy the disadvantage of his ground, and advancing against the enemy, endeavoured to bring them to a close and decisive engagement. But, as he
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advanced, Hyder shrunk back, and left the English in possession of the scene of action. The instant our troops were ordered to relinquish the pursuit, and halt on the field of victory, a gun, with some tumbrils, was observed, opposite to the 73d regiment, sticking fast in the bed of the Arnée river, and a party of the enemy labouring to draw them out. The Honourable Captain Lindsey, against positive orders, as well as the rules of war, advanced with his grenadier company beyond the line, chased away the enemy's party, and seized the gun and tumbrils, the possession of which converted the General's displeasure into commendation. When Captain Lindsey advanced, the other companies of his regiment followed, in order to support him, and were drawn up in one battalion, under that steady veteran Captain Shaw, on the opposite banks of the river. This victory, if it may be called a victory, was obtained at the considerable expence of sixty sepoy killed and wounded. The enemy, it was conjectured, did not lose above half that number,

As we were unprovided with battering cannon, scaling ladders were made of green bamboos, and a summons was sent to the Keeladar of Arnée to surrender: but as neither the answer of that Commander, nor the situation of the fort

afforded any hopes that it might be attacked with any probability of success, our army, on the 6th of June, marched towards Madras. Having crossed and recrossed the course of the Arnée, they encamped, on the 7th, on the same side of the river from which they set out. While they lay in camp on the 8th, the enemy, from a military knowledge of the ground, than which there is no circumstance that is oftener improved by a skilful Commander into happy projects, drew out our grand guard, consisting of a regiment of European cavalry, into an ambuscade, where they were either cut off by an open and heavy fire in their front, or taken prisoners by a numerous party of horse that came suddenly between the main army and their rear. The English General returned, on the 9th of June, to Vandewash, where, after a fruitless attempt to retaliate the loss of the preceding day, by snares similar to those through which it was occasioned, proceeded on his march, and on the 20th arrived at Madras.

In these stratagems and encounters, the last in which Sir Eyre Coote and Hyder-Ally-Cawn were destined to measure their strength in the field, we behold the conduct of the Commanders, and the whole character of the war. The English General opposing to numbers, artifices, and

and local advantages, the disciplined valour of his little army, according to the plainest and most approved rules of war, and, without exposing his troops to too great hazards, constantly endeavouring to reduce the various movements and feints of his antagonist to a point, where he could bear upon him with his whole strength at once, and bring him to a close and decisive action: the Asiatic politician and warrior, availing himself of present and vast resources, eluding regular and compacted force, by stratagems the most various and profound, and declining to commit to the fortune of a single day, what would be ensured by a series of conjunctures rightly improved, by distance of space which might deprive his adversary of supplies in the moment of exigency, and by the very lapse of time, which, transferring the arts of the refined to the rude, levels in its progress the condition of nations.

Sir Eyre Coote, in Fort St. George, after the toils of the field, had the satisfaction of reflecting, that he had marched and countermarched, in spite of all opposition, whithersoever he would, carried relief to the distressed, beaten back the enemy in every battle, and done every thing but bring him to a decisive engagement. Hyder-Ally, reposing in the fortress of Arnée, preserved by his arms, re-

joiced that he had been able to avoid a decisive action ; that he was still in a condition to present a front to the foe ; that the wounds he had given to the English were deeper than any they had inflicted on his army ; and that, while he thus maintained his ground in the Carnatic, and braved with advantage a power deemed irresistible, he might reasonably hope, that in proportion as the pressure of terror, which alone kept the native princes under awe and subjection to the Europeans, should be removed, they would gradually be united in a determined resolution to expel them, without exception, from the coasts of India.

+ The war with the Mahrattas, conducted under the immediate auspices of the Governor-General and Council of Bengal, was attended with more brilliant success, and, by this time, brought to a safe issue. The departure of Mr. Francis from India, towards the close of 1780, emancipating Mr. Hastings from the shackles of opposition and intrigue, left him at liberty to carry on the war against the Mahrattas, who had rejected the offer that had been made of peace, with the utmost vigour. Lieutenant Colonel, then Major Popham, remained with a garrison in Gualior : and Lieut. Colonel Camac was ordered to advance, at the head of five battalions
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of sepoy, to Ugein, the capital of Madajee Scindiah. This movement was attended with all those beneficial consequences which Mr. Hastings had predicted. Scindiah, who was the General of the Mahratta army, and opposed General Goddard in Guzzarat, at the head of sixty thousand horse, suddenly quitted the Mahratta camp, for the defence of his own country. He advanced to Seronge in the month of February, 1781, surrounded Colonel Camac with large bodies of cavalry, interrupted his supplies, and reduced him to the greatest distress. In this situation, the Colonel wrote in the most pressing terms for reinforcements to Major Popham, and also to Colonel Muir and Colonel Morgan, who commanded our troops on the borders of Corah and in Oude; recommending, at the same time, that a diversion should be made in his favour from Calpee. Measures were immediately taken for the support of Colonel Camac, but he had the good fortune to extricate himself from all his difficulties before the reinforcements arrived to his assistance. He called a council of war on the 23d of March, in which it was proposed by Captain Bruce, who commanded the storming party at Gualior, to attack Scindiah's camp that night, as the only possible means of preserving the army. This advice, most strenuously seconded by Major Maclary, a gentleman now
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in England, was, after some debate and consideration, adopted by the Colonel. At sun-set, on the 24th, the army moved from their ground, and, after a march of thirteen hours, effectually surpris'd the two camps of Madajee Scindiah, made themselves masters of all his artillery, took his standard elephant, a number of camels and bullocks, and a prodigious quantity of provisions.

This action was decisive of the Mahratta war. Colonel Muir, who, in consequence of Colonel Camac's letter from Seronge, had been detached across the Jumna, had advanced as far as the Ranah of Gohud's country, to his assistance, joined the army with his reinforcement the month following, and being the senior officer, succeeded to the general command. The Governor-General could not remove Colonel Muir, who was one of the best officers in their service, from a command to which Lieut. Colonel Camac had expressly called him. In the month of August, 1781, Scindiah made overtures of peace. A negotiation was opened for that purpose, and a treaty concluded with that Chief in the month of October, 1781. A total cessation of hostilities with the Mahratta states was the immediate consequence of the separate peace with Madajee; and a general pacification was signed in May, 1782.

1782. Thus did that expedition, on the success of which Mr. Hastings, when he proposed it, had declared he would risk his life, terminate precisely as the Governor-General predicted: and, in the year 1782, of all the confederacy that had been formed against us, two members only continued hostile, Hyder-Ally-Cawn and the French. Madajee Booslah had been bought off by a sum of money: and the Nizam confiding, or pretending to confide in our promises, according to his usual policy, continued inactive. To the honour of the troops employed against Scindiah, it is proper to mention, that they were five months in arrears during all the service.

It was for this reason, and because the treasury of Bengal was totally inadequate to the continued and increasing demands of an hundred thousand men under arms, in the service of Great Britain in different parts of India, that the Governor-General determined, in the month of August, 1781, to demand from the Nabob Vizier of Oude, the balance due to the Company; and from the Rajah Cheyt Sing, a Zemindar who rented, under the English Company, the rich city and dependencies of Benaras, together with such farther contributions as the necessities of war rendered customary in the east, from vassals to lords paramount, and
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from a subject to his sovereign. The Princesses of Oude, the mother and grandmother of the Nabob Asoph-ul-Dowlah, together with immense treasures, possessed a considerable force, and not a small share of the authority of government.—The Rajah Cheyt Sing, from his father Bulwant Sing, who derived whatever degree of independency he possessed, during the latter period of his life, from the protection and intervention of our Government, inherited a vast mass of wealth, which he secured in the two strong fortresses of Bidjey Gur and Lutteespoor. But, if common fame made just reports, neither the Begums of Oude, nor the Rajah of Benaras, were friends to the English. Hostile intentions, it was every where said, were manifested by overt actions: insolent treatment of the English, correspondence with the powers who were, or might eventually become our enemies, the collection of stores, and other acts of military preparation. The general state and temper of the country, and particularly the evasions by which Cheyt Sing sought to withhold the subsidies which our Government had demanded and he had promised, rendered these reports not incredible to a mind, anxious, like that of Mr. Hastings, for the public safety, which hung in suspense on his decisions. In such circumstances as these, the Governor-General determined to seize,

seize, in good time, an engine that might be turned against himself, and to anticipate any farther instances of hostility, which must involve in their progress, either the ruin of the princes from whom they proceeded, or that of the power against which they were pointed.

When Sir Eyre Coote was about to embark, in October, 1780, for the coast of Coromandel, and there was a very great degree of probability that Bengal would be invaded by the Mahrattas, the plan adopted by the Government for the protection of Bengal and its dependencies from the attacks of our enemies, was, to put the troops of the native princes, connected with our nation, either by the ties of alliance or allegiance, under the discipline and the command of British officers. As a part of the system of defence, it was unanimously resolved in Council, that a part of Cheyt Sing's cavalry should be put under our orders.

The Rajah did not dispute the right of his sovereign to demand military aid, according to oriental custom, but he sought to evade compliance on pretence of poverty: and his excuses and delays to pay his promised subsidy, there was reason to believe, were dictated by the doubts he had been taught to entertain
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~~XX~~ through the intrigues, and even positive declarations of Mr. Francis, concerning the stability of that authority by which it had been imposed. His repeated instances of contumacy and disobedience, though unjustifiable in themselves, and aggravated by the extreme distresses and dangers of the superior state, appeared to the Governor-General of less consideration, on account of their own criminality, than as they were evidences of a deliberate and systematic conduct, aiming at the total subversion of the authority of the Company, and the erection of his own independency on its ruins. He considered Cheyt Sing as culpable in a very high degree, towards our state, and his punishment, of which he had given him frequent warnings if he did not amend his conduct, as an example which justice and policy required, equally for the reparation of the wrongs which its dignity had sustained, and for the future preservation of its authority. He saw a political necessity for curbing the overgrown power of a great member of the Company's dominion, and rendering it subservient to their present exigencies. These are the reasons urged by Mr. Hastings in his narrative of the insurrection at Benâras, in a stream of eloquence that rarely, if it ever flows, at once with such transparency and such force, where the

the conclusions of the understanding derive not an impetus from the emotions of the heart.

The Governor-General, with a view to raise supplies for maintaining the war, and in the hopes of being able to effect some interviews that might lead to peace, set out from Calcutta on the 7th of July, 1781, with an intention to proceed to Lucknow, the principal residence of the Royal Family of Oude. He arrived at Benaras on the morning of the 14th of August, whither also Cheyt Sing came to meet him some hours later. The Governor-General forbade the Rajah to come that evening to his quarters, as he had intended; and required him to defer his future visits, until he should receive his permission, as he had some previous matters to settle with him, of which he would be informed by the Resident, whom he would depute to him, next morning, for that purpose. Mr. Markham, accordingly, carried a paper to the Rajah, in which Mr. Hastings recapitulated the several instances of his conduct, which had repeatedly drawn on himself the severe reprehensions of Government, and demanded a clear and satisfactory explanation. He charged him, not only with shifts and delays in the payment of a sum of money, destined for discharging the arrears due to the army that had marched towards Malva,

Malva, but also with disaffection and infidelity to the Company, the patrons on whom he depended, and with endeavours to excite disorders in their Government. The answers of the Rajah, couched nearly in terms of defiance, Mr. Hastings considered as an indication of that spirit of independency which the Rajah had assumed for some years past. He, therefore, ordered the Resident, early in the morning of August 16, with his usual guard, to proceed, to the house of the Rajah Cheyt Sing, and put him in arrest. The humbled Rajah, in two letters addressed to the Governor-General, professed entire submission to his will, in the language of despondent supplication. The Governor-General having now brought the refractory Rajah to a proper temper, he desired him, in a short note, to set his mind at rest, and assured him of his protection.

In the mean time, large bodies of men in arms, had crossed the river from Ramnagur, and proceeded to Shewallah-Gur, Cheyt Sing's house. The guard placed over the Rajah, consisted of two companies of grenadier sepoy, from Major Popham's detachment, stationed in an enclosed square which surrounded the prince's apartments in the palace. But, it appeared,
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that these troops were unprovided with ammunition. Major Popham, therefore, sent another company of sepoy with ammunition, to reinforce and support the first party. But, on their arrival at the Rajah's house, they found all the avenues blockaded by a multitude of armed men. The minds of this tumultuous assembly, fermented into rage by a reciprocation of sentiments and passions, and daring from their numbers, made a sudden attack on the sepoys, who, wanting their accustomed means of defence, fell an easy sacrifice to the superior numbers of their assailants. The officers, it is supposed, were the first victims to their fury; but not until they had, by astonishing efforts of bravery, involved in their fate far greater numbers of their enemies.

In the midst of this confusion, Cheyt Sing found means to escape through a wicket that opened to the river; and the banks being exceedingly steep in that place, he was let down by turbans tied together into a boat, which conveyed him to the opposite shore. His adherents followed him across the river in the same tumultuous manner in which they had assembled, leaving the party of our sepoys which had last arrived in possession of the house. But if, instead of crowding after the Rajah, they had proceeded

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ceeded to Mahadow Dafs's garden, the residence at that critical hour of Mr. Hastings, the blood of the Governor-General, with that of about thirty English gentlemen of his party, would have been added to the recent carnage, and the British empire in India would have ceased from that moment to exist: For every state around it would have started into arms against it; and its own subjects, according to their degrees of power, would have been forward to renounce their allegiance.

Mr. Hastings, on the first intelligence of this commotion, directed Major Popham to repair immediately to his camp, which was about two miles from the Resident's house, and at the same distance from the Rajah's, and to march instantly with the remainder of his detachment to the support of the party. Major Popham, though he lost not a moment to execute this order, arrived too late, and beheld with sorrow the effects of a massacre which he could neither prevent nor revenge. Cheyt Sing fled to Lutteefpoor with his family, and all his forces, except the ordinary guard of Ramnagur; a vast pile of irregular but massy buildings, constructed of stone, on the river side, and partly within the bed of the river. To the original strength of this place, Cheyt Sing had added some small bastions of stone and earth; but it possessed a stronger de-

defence in a large town which had grown around it, and the complicated intricacies of the apartments and passages of the palace. Ramnagur had been evacuated during the commotions at Shewallah-Gur: But the first tumults of consternation having subsided, about two thousand men had returned to that fortress, on the 18th of August, under the command of Ramjeeewun, a confidential and domestic Chief of the Rajah's family.

The whole strength of the Governor-General at Benaras, consisted originally of six companies of Major Popham's regiment, about sixty sepoy which he had taken from the garrison at Buxar, for the protection of his boats, and a few men, without discipline, and without arms, who had been newly recruited for the Resident's guard. Of Major Popham's regiment, eighty-two men had fallen in the massacre of Shewallah-Gur, and ninety-two were wounded. The whole number of killed and wounded amounted to two hundred and five.

The remainder of Major Popham's detachment, consisting of four companies of sepoy, one company of artillery, and a company of French rangers, in our service, were ordered to march immediately to Ramnagur; and a letter was sent to Lieutenant-Colonel Blair, to detach

a battalion of sepoys on the same destination, from the garrison at Chunar. These different forces were ordered to halt at a secure distance from Ramnagur, to avoid all hostilities, and to wait for further orders. Major Popham, formally invested with the command of this little body, in order to secure the success of his operations, had chosen a convenient and open plain, on the shore opposite to Ramnagur, for a battery of two mortars, expected from Chunar. These dispositions promised a sure and easy conquest; when an accident happened, which blasted the reasonable expectations, and had well nigh proved the ruin of the whole party. Captain Mayaffre, the senior, and consequently the ruling officer before Major Popham assumed the command, unwilling to lose the opportunity which his present and casual authority afforded him of acquiring military reputation, without plan, without enquiry, against the advice of his officers, and against orders, led the detachment into the narrow streets of the town of Ramnagur; where, exposed to the fire of an enemy surrounding them unseen, one hundred and seven men, including Captain Mayaffre, who commanded, and Captain Doxat, who led on the attack, were instantly killed, and seventy-two wounded.— Captain Blair, with the remains of the detachment, made a judicious and safe retreat. The
date

date of this massacre, rather than defeat, was the morning of the 20th of August, 1781.

Mr. Hastings was now plunged in a decided war, in circumstances that threatened inevitable destruction. Through an unfortunate train of official perplexities, preceding the date of this awful crisis, it happened that both Major Popham's regiment, the Rangers, and all the corps of the garrison of Chunar, were four months in arrears. The war in the Carnatic wore an aspect that portended at best no more than the probability of being able to prolong an uncertain struggle. We were engaged in a contest with the Mahratta states, towards the coast of Malabar, and with Madajee Scindia, near our own borders. A sudden rebellion had deprived us of every foot of land in Benaras, and, having involved the province of Oude in a similar defection, was extending its contagion over those of Rohilcund and Doab, and even our own province of Bahar.—Troubles had overtaken, and were still gathering around Mr. Hastings on every side, at a time when he found himself unable to command three thousand rupees.

The Governor General, under these accumulated difficulties and dangers, derived support

and relief from the resources of his own intrepid, quick, and comprehensive mind; and from the courage, ability, zeal, and personal confidence and attachment of all the officers in the nearest military stations, to whom, after the massacre of Shewallah-Gur, orders, in different letters, had been sent for assistance. That these noble qualities were gloriously displayed, both by him who was the prime mover, and those who were the subordinate agents in the scenes that led to deliverance and triumph, sufficiently appears from the *Narrative of the Insurrection at Benaras*,* and will appear from the writings of all future historians. Let it suffice, in this abridged account of the military operations in India, during the period described, to relate, that the vigour of Mr. Hastings, his admirable presence of mind, the alacrity with which he was supported by our military stations, the rapidity with which he collected his forces, and the wisdom with which he directed it, quashed rebellion, exalted the power of his country on its ruins, excited the astonishment of India, and the admiration of Europe. The dæmons of faction, of jealousy, and of envy, united to raise a persecution against this great man, according to the usual fate of patriots and heroes

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* Written by Mr. Hastings:

under free governments, in his own country : but, in Great Britain, as in every part of the civilized world, every candid mind and exalted spirit, allowed that the conduct of Mr. Hastings was not more vigorous and successful than upright and disinterested. On the occasion of an extraordinary and alarming conjuncture in India, the Governor-General of Bengal reverted to the principles by which our dominion there had been both acquired and supported, and provided for the public safety by expedients, which, in times of tranquility, and in European governments, might be deemed violent and irregular, but which, in the circumstances in which he was placed, besides that they were sanctioned by Oriental custom, were proper, because they were necessary. He burst through the cobweb sublimations of casuists, which cannot in all cases, consistently with the best ends of government, be reduced to practice, and left faction to blame, his country to judge, and the world to admire him.

The whole province of Benaras returned under the obedience of the Company. The town was placed under the government of a newly-created and independent magistracy ; and the zemindary bestowed, on the 30th of September, on Bauboo-Mehipnarain, grandson in the fe-

male line, to the Rajah Bulwant Sing, according to the Hindoo law, the next lineal heir after his mother and grandmother, who, in his favour, formally yielded up their pretensions.

It was agreed on between the Governor-General, in the name of the East-India Company, and the Nabob Vizier, that a reduction should be made in the expence and the numbers of the Nabob's troops, consisting chiefly of a disorderly and useless rabble, and that a new military establishment should be formed, well appointed and commanded, efficient in service, and such as should protect, instead of distressing his country: and that, as great distresses had arisen to the Nabob's government, from the military power and dominion assumed by the Jagheerdars, he should be permitted to resume such Jagheers as he might find necessary, with a reserve, in case of the resumption of any jagheers for the amount of which the Company were guarantees, that an equivalent for their clear collections or rents, should be paid through the resident at Lucknow in ready money.

Agreeably to this convention, a resumption was advised by Asoph-ul-Dowlah, and agreed to by Mr. Hastings, of the jagheers or estates
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of the Begums or Princesses of Oude, his mother and grandmother, who, as above mentioned, had united their authority and influence to embarrass the Nabob's government, and to extend and aggravate the difficulties of the English. A provision at the same time was made, for replacing their income at the exact rate at which it stood in their own estimate, while they held the jagheers, by making it the condition of the resumption, that they should receive a pension equal to the amount of those possessions, in equal monthly payments: and these, for the fullest security, were made payable from the produce of the Company's assignments. The hoarded treasures of the Begums, at the request of their son and grandson, to whom they belonged by the right of hereditary succession, were also resumed: by which means the Nabob was enabled to pay the arrears of subsidy due from Oude for the protection of the Company, which furnished a very seasonable and necessary supply for the support of his own authority, by supporting that of the British government in India.

In the month of August, 1781, dispatches were brought from the Company to Fort St. George, by Sir John Macpherson, who had been appointed in the preceding January a member

member of the Supreme Council. He was appointed to this station at the recommendation of Lord North. That minister perceived in this gentleman dispositions and talents which might be successfully exerted to restore harmony, and give systematic energy to the Councils of India; which, at a moment, when our colonies in the western hemisphere were in the utmost danger, from the distractions of party and civil discord, became doubly interesting to the empire. It has been asserted, upon the best authority, that Sir John Macpherson was charged by the Administration of 1781 with letters to the Governor-General and the other members of the Supreme Council, and to the Commanders in Chief by sea and land, containing the grand outlines of the conduct proper to be pursued at that critical period: a vigorous prosecution of the contest with our European enemies; a pacific conduct towards the native states of India; and a prudent and economical application of the Company's resources. We accordingly find, that on the 11th of September, 1781, a council was held at Fort St. George, by Lord Macartney, Sir Eyre Coote, and Sir John Macpherson, in which it was resolved to address the Mahratta Government on the subject of a general pacification. The Nabob of Arcot, and Sir Edward Hughes, as Commander in Chief

Chief by sea in India, joined their authority to that of Sir John Macpherson, in a letter to this purpose. In the same council, a letter was addressed to the Government of Bombay, and to General Goddard, directing a cessation of hostilities against the Mahrattas, and announcing the propositions made to the Mahratta Government, in consequence of orders declared to be received by Sir John Macpherson from the Company in England. It appears from the records of the Administration of Fort St. George and of Bengal, which have been published in the course of Mr. Hastings's trial, by order of Parliament, that Lord Macartney, Sir Eyre Coote, and Sir John Macpherson, had concerted a regular system for prosecuting the war with vigour, and for compelling the Government of Bombay to relinquish the Mahratta contest, and to co-operate with the Presidency of Madras in an attack on the dominions of Hyder.

A most interesting document of the Bengal Government at that great crisis, has also been published in the parliamentary inquiry concerning the conduct of Mr. Hastings. It is a letter addressed to the India Company soon after Sir John Macpherson's arrival at Calcutta, when the Governor-General was at Benaras. This letter, which was signed by Mr. Wheeler and Mr. Macpherson,

Macpherson, took a general survey of the Company's affairs, and pledged the government of Bengal to the Company, and the natives, for the execution of certain measures of political prudence; and it called seriously upon the India Company to discharge their duty in supporting the Bengal government in the execution of the measures proposed and pledged.

Sir John, after contributing his strenuous aid and support to the brilliant administration of Mr. Hastings, on the return of his illustrious predecessor to England, in February 1785, rose to the office of Governor-General. He continued to pursue his measures of reform, particularly in the reduction of the Company's expences, and brought his administration to a prosperous issue in September, 1786. In a letter of the 10th of August, 1786, printed in the late parliamentary proceedings, after recapitulating the transactions in which he had been concerned, he calls upon the Company to declare, whether the measures promised in October, 1781, had not been fully carried into execution. The consciousness of merited approbation and applause, is, to a generous spirit, the noblest reward of virtue.

At the same time that it is proper to record, with due praise, the reduction in the Company's expenditure, effected by Sir John Macpherson, it is due to Mr. Hastings to observe, that economy in times of peace, is not more laudable, than the grant of douceurs, and even the creation of offices, in situations of difficulty and alarm, are often necessary. Where a vast variety of instruments are to be combined in one system of operation; where harmony is requisite to the existence of an empire, but not to be acquired by any appeal to reason or duty; sacrifices must be made to self-interest, and to passion. — There cannot be imagined a juster subject of regret, than that the members of parliament in opposition to Administration, should abuse their fine parts, and pervert the first tribunal of the nation into an instrument of party, in the prosecution of Mr. Hastings. With how much greater propriety might they employ their talents in defending even the irregularities of that great and disinterested character! What a charming and captivating picture might they draw, of a single man supporting the weight of a whole empire, amidst all the selfish opposition to his measures, which sprung up from distance, from avarice, and from ambition! At a time when our government in India was new and undefined, the Governor-General, with 1,800 Europeans, was

to keep in awe as many millions! Now he was forced to fight the Mahrattas; now to provide pay to a mutinous and motley army; and, in the midst of all his cares, to serve the needy relations of those to whom he was to look up at home, for that steady support which the interest of his country required, but which, without private inducement, would not have been given.—He returns home poor; demands, in a peremptory tone, to be heard in his own vindication; and, while every candid mind is anxious for the result of his trial, he alone maintains the most perfect calmness and indifference!

The cessation of hostilities on our part, in consequence of the instructions sent from Britain by Sir J. Macpherson, having co-operated with the successful attack that had been made on the dominions of Madajee Scindiah, a private letter from Mr. Hastings, Governor-General of India, to Lord Macartney, President of the Council at Madras, informed his lordship that peace was concluded with the Mahrattas. All places taken from that nation by the English since the treaty of Colonel Upton in 1776, were to be restored; and the Company's claims to a country of three lacks of rupees, ceded to them by that treaty, were to be

be relinquished. On the other hand, it was stipulated, that the islands of Salfette, Hog, Elephanta, and Coranja, included in Colonel Upton's treaty, should continue for ever in possession of the English: and measures were to be taken for inducing, or, if necessary, for compelling Hyder-Ally-Cawn to restore such territories belonging to the English Company and their allies as he had taken since the date of his treaty with the Paishwa.* This intelligence was announced with the firing of the guns in camp, and the artillery of Fort St. George, on the 29th day of June, 1782.

Sir Eyre Coote, invested with the powers of peace or war, left Madras on the 1st of July, approached to Hyder, and required him to accede to the treaty, with intimation, that, if he did not restore all the forts, and at the end of six months evacuate the Carnatic, the Mahratta arms were to be joined, for the purpose of compelling him, to those of the English. The Khan, grown old in Asiatic arts, amused and detained him in the neighbourhood of Vandewash, till our army had consumed, not only their

* The Mahratta minister or regent.—The king, a mere pageant of state, is confined to the antient residence of his predecessors, at Setterah, and sunk in voluptuous indolence.

their own rice, but that also which was for the use of the garrison. Having gained this point, he suddenly required time for the adjustment of preliminaries, and withdrew his Vakreel, leaving the General wholly in the dark concerning his intentions. Sir Eyre Coote returned with the army to Madras.

Hyder and the French Admiral had planned a combined attack on Negapatnam; to favour which, by detaining the army, the former amused our people with the hopes of peace. His artifice, however, was foiled by the chances of war. Suffrein, in sailing for Negapatnam, was descried by the English fleet, and in spite of every attempt to gain the roads without fighting, he was, by the masterly manœuvres of his opponents, forced to give them battle. At three o'clock, on the 3d of July, the English Admiral left the road of Negapatnam, stretching southward with his squadron all that evening and night, in order to gain the wind of the enemy. He effected his purpose, and by day-break gave signals for forming the line. About eleven, the engagement became close and general, and continued so till half past twelve, when the French line appeared greatly disordered, several of their ships having suffered severely both in their hulls and rigging. At the mo-

moment when victory seemed ready to declare decisively for the British flag, a sea breeze springing up, rescued the enemy from impending ruin. Our line was thrown into disorder, and Suffrein effected a masterly retreat, fighting his best ships to protect those which had sustained the greatest damage. The victors remained floating about in the utmost confusion, without being able to renew the attack. The next day, the French, without the loss of a single ship, escaped to Cuddalore. From this nominal victory no advantage resulted; and it was accompanied with the loss of Captain Dunbar Maclellan, an officer, for his naval and military abilities, deservedly held in high estimation. He commanded the flag ship, and was shot through the heart early in the engagement.

Sir Edward Hughes, after informing the garrison of Negapatnam that the danger which threatened them was retarded, for a season at least, brought his squadron to the roads of Madras, where he was joined by the Scepter, a new ship of sixty-four guns, belonging to Sir Richard Bickerton's fleet.

The designs of Suffrein against Trincomallée being known, or suspected, it was determined to reinforce that important place. Accordingly, the Scepter and Monmouth, ships of the line,

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with about two hundred troops under the command of Captain Macdowal of the 42d regt. failed on that expedition, leaving the rest of the squadron, for repairs, in the roads of Madras. These ships, after landing the troops, returned with information, that they had found the French fleet off the harbour of Trincomallée, and had with difficulty effected their escape. At length, on the 21st of August, Sir Edward Hughes, after completing his tedious repairs, set sail to protect Trincomallée, to fight Suffrein, or to co-operate with the army in the intended attack on Cuddalore. He had on board part of the 98th regiment, with Colonel Fullarton, appointed, by the Presidency of Madras, to the command of the fortrefs and garrison of Trincomallée. But, besides the command of the garrison, he had it in charge from the Governor and Select Committee of Madras, not to confine his attention to the duties, however important, of that particular station, but to extend his observations and exertions to every circumstance which might contribute to secure and promote the British interest and welfare in every part of the island of Ceylon. The instructions of Lord Macartney to the Colonel on this occasion, were founded in views equally humane and politically prudent. "A good treatment of the people now subject to the British power," he ob-

“ observed, was the surest as well as the justest
“ method of engaging others to place themselves
“ under the British protection. The oppres-
“ sions exercised in Ceylon by the Dutch, had a
“ natural tendency to alienate the natives from
“ all Europeans. It was necessary, therefore,
“ for the English to give substantial proofs of
“ justice and encouragement before a distinction
“ could be effected in their favour. The jea-
“ lously entertained of our views, and the un-
“ certainty of our success, might have prevented
“ the Sovereign of Ceylon, generally called the
“ King of Candy, from immediately acced-
“ ing to propositions formerly made to him,
“ for entering into a strict alliance with us.
“ But, the disappointment with which the
“ French had hitherto met in their designs
“ against us, and the firm hold which we
“ seemed now to have taken of Trincomallée,
“ might incline the King of Candy to consider
“ an union with the English as his interest.
“ Though it might not be expedient to renew
“ our applications to him formally at the pre-
“ sent moment, lest, from our solicitude to ob-
“ tain his friendship and assistance, he should in-
“ fer any idea of our weakness, occasions might
“ arise of opening a correspondence, in the
“ course of which there might be an opportunity
“ of convincing him that we were the enemies

“only of his enemies and oppressors; that we
“had attacked, and meant to attack only the
“possessions of our European enemies in India,
“whose unprovoked hostilities had forced us
“into a war. Such a correspondence might
“even lead to a proposal, as a proof of our
“tendernefs for his claims, which, no doubt,
“extended to the whole island of Ceylon, to ac-
“cept of a grant from him to the Company, and
“to enjoy, under this grant, the possessions we
“then held in that island, by right of conquest
“over our declared enemies. This grant might
“become of vast importance, by establishing in
“us a right to keep Trincomallée under that
“title, when a peace might force us to restore
“it to the Dutch, if we had not any other title
“to it than that of having wrested it from them
“by force of arms.”

The whole British army could not have furnished a more proper agent for carrying these excellent instructions into execution than Colonel Fullarton: for his disposition was naturally social, ingenuous, and manly: and he united a turn for science with a spirit of enterprize and talents for business. He possessed a quick discernment of character, with great insinuation and address. Of courage he had given repeated proofs: and good sense, with much observation

on the busy scenes of life, had taught him the vast importance, even in a political view, of good faith and fair dealing. After multiplied proofs of both ability and zeal, in a civil capacity, under the administration of Lord North, he received the promise of a very respectable appointment in the diplomatique service: but, conceiving that little credit was to be acquired in negotiation, when every Court was adverse to the cause of Britain, he exchanged civil for military employment, and, at a great expence and risk, raised a regiment, as already related. His destination to Ceylon seemed to open a wide career to his ambition, both in the character of a soldier and negotiator: but the hopes that were formed from the exertions of this gentleman were blasted by the activity of the French, and the remissness of the English Admiral.

1782.] On the night of the 2d of September, Sir Edward Hughes arrived off Trincomallée, and the next morning discovered French colours flying on all the forts, and their squadron, reinforced by the *Illustre* of 74 guns, the *St. Michael* of 64, and the *Elizabeth* of 50, with several frigates, making, in all, thirty sail, at anchor in their several bays. The English might easily have avoided an engagement; for though, immediately on their appearance, the French

squadron got under sail, yet, for several hours, they shewed manifest tokens of hesitation. But the ardour of our officers and men, incensed at the loss of Trincomallée, was not to be restrained. At half past two o'clock the French line began to fire on ours, and, five minutes after, the engagement became general. The Worcester, in the rear, was furiously attacked by two of the enemy's additional ships, but made a brave resistance, and was gallantly supported by the Monmouth; while at the same time, in the van, five ships bore down in a crowd on the Exeter and the Isis, and by a close and concerted fire, forced the former, much disabled, from the line, leaving the Isis to receive their fire as they passed in succession. The opposing centers, in the mean time, were warmly engaged, ship to ship. For three hours the battle continued to rage, with equal fury and obstinacy through every part of the line. The contending Admirals displayed great bravery and skill. Suffrein, in the Heros, having come down upon the fire of two of our largest ships, two of his masts were shot away by the board, and his vessel soon reduced to a mere wreck. He instantly removed his flag to another, giving the Heros up for lost; but by some negligence on our part, and the brave conduct of a French frigate, she was towed round to their fleet.

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The fight was terminated only by the darkness of the night; and its consequences must have been far more signal, had the French wanted the shelter of Trincomallée: nor would the British Admiral have immediately steered for Madras, if Suffrein had not been so near his port. So completely routed were the enemy, that their ships crowded without order into Trincomallée. One of them was lost upon the rocks; and it was ten days before two others, dismasted and shattered, were able to get into harbour. These, Suffrein did not scruple to say, he regarded as presents made to him by the English Admiral.

The loss on our side in men was incredibly small, not exceeding fifty-one killed, and three hundred wounded; but in officers we suffered most severely. The Honourable Captain Lumley of the Isis, a very promising young man, was slain: Captains James Watt, of the Sultan, and Charles Wood, of the Worcester, both officers of high desert, were mortally wounded. The 78th and 98th regiments, too, lost many of their bravest men.

This was the sixth naval engagement in which the 98th regiment served, with distinguished credit. They performed the duty of both marines and sailors with great bravery and address;

and were honoured on this, as on other occasions, with the thanks of Sir Edward Hughes, and of the naval officers commanding the respective ships on board of which that corps was stationed. The loss of the French, compared with ours, was enormous; amounting to four hundred and twelve killed, and six hundred and seventy-six wounded. The carnage on board the *Héro* was such as is seldom seen, except in cases of burning or explosion. Six French Captains were broken, and sent prisoners to the island of Mauritius.

Hyder, having marched to the Tanjore country, found that the defeat of *Monf. de Suffrein* had frustrated the intended operations against *Negapatnam*. He therefore returned, directing his march towards his magazine at *Arnée*. This movement being reported to the British army, the General became apprehensive of danger to the Fort of *Vandewash*. Abandoning, for the present, his designs on *Cuddalore*, he advanced a day's march towards the fort: but, having received intelligence, that very evening, from the Commanding Officer, that Hyder had passed the *Arnée* river, he resumed his original route, and, on the 6th of September, encamped on the Red Hills of *Pondicherry*, the place of rendezvous for the enemy's shipping. Two days passed

passed without the appearance of any ships, or any account of them. But, on the 3d, certain notice arrived, that Mons. de Suffrein had reduced Trincomallée: and soon after, a frigate brought intelligence that the two fleets had fought a fourth battle, and that the English Admiral, having left the French masters at sea, to windward, was on his way to Madras; where he arrived on the 8th of September, 1782.

Sir Eyre Coote had of late been so severely attacked by a complication of disorders, as to be obliged to be moved from camp to a country-house near Pondicherry; and had left the immediate charge of the army, during that period, to General Stuart, the officer next in command, in whom he had the utmost confidence. At this time, when the British squadron had returned to Madras, and the French fleet was left to windward, Hyder's whole force was within two days march, moving also towards Cuddalore, and there was not above seven days provision of rice with the British army, neither any provision ships in sight, as expected. General Stuart, therefore, in consequence of the trust reposed in him, judged it highly expedient, that the army should return towards the magazines nearer to the Presidency, from whence alone it could be supplied.

Early

Early in the forenoon of the 11th of September, verbal orders were communicated, through the Adjutant-General, to the heads of corps, departments and out-posts, to be in readiness to march. About two in the afternoon, Sir Eyre Coote came to the head of the line, carried in a palanquin. The affectionate expressions which he addressed to General Stuart; the warm approbation which he bestowed on his orders and arrangements; the communication of his opinion with regard to the situation of public affairs; the sentiments of regret which he expressed at the return of Sir Edward Hughes to Madras, which cut off an opportunity of driving the French at that time, from Cuddalore; and, above all, his apprehensions of the dangers that might arise from the loss of Trincomallée, made a lively impression, and will be long remembered by the circle of bye-standers at that most affecting interview of the two Generals. At eleven at night, the army encamped at Killinore. The march continued undisturbed, and without loss of any sort, worth notice. The army halted for immediate supplies at Chingleput; where, also, they were to await the return of Sir Eyre Coote's dispatches to the Presidency. And, as they could not immediately proceed to the southward, without being covered by the
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squadron, it was judged proper, in the mean time, to return for full supplies to the Mount.

On the arrival of the English squadron at Madras, their situation was found to be such, as to induce the Admiral to entertain thoughts of proceeding to Bombay: and in this purpose he afterwards persisted, notwithstanding the opinion of the President, Lord Macartney, who gave for record, a very pointed minute on this subject.

Sir Edward Hughes, having declared, in a committee, that his Majesty's squadron could not, for that season, remain long enough on the coast, to afford protection to the army in any effectual co-operations against Cuddalore; and that it became necessary to return immediately to dock, and refit the ships at Bombay, so as to be in condition to oppose the enemy's utmost force, expected early next season, which would otherwise become impracticable. This declaration of the Admiral, made in the end of September, of itself put an end to any further field operations, which would have been interrupted, at any rate, by the approaching monsoon.

A great number of ships, private property, at this time, sent from Bengal, lay in the roads

roads of Madras, laden with rice. The Government laid an embargo on them; yet refused, it was said, to give a price for the grain equal to the risks of trade, or allow it to be sold to the suffering inhabitants, who, amidst a famine that ravaged throughout the whole of the coast of Coromandel, were dying by hundreds in a day. Lord Macartney was not suspected of forbidden views by any competent judges of his character. Suspicions, however, were entertained, according to the manner of the people, of a contrivance for engrossing the grain. Nevertheless, the passive genius of a despotic climate conspired with the artillery of Fort St. George, to prevent such an insurrection as would have been unavoidable, in similar circumstances, under the most arbitrary government in Europe. Many of the gentlemen of Madras, displeased with his Lordship's conduct in this particular, drew up a decent remonstrance; but the President threw it aside, charging the meeting in which it was framed, with audacity and sedition. It afforded but little consolation to dying multitudes of men, women, and children, that his Lordship observed the decency of sending away his carriage horses. The approach of the monsoon made not any impression on the mind of Lord Macartney. Notwithstanding the risk of property which thereby accrued to the
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merchants, he persevered in his views, whatever they were, and the rice ships were forced still to lie at anchor. But, on the 15th of October, the sky began to lower, and the gathering clouds burst, towards the evening, in a violent storm. The return of day presented the dismal prospect of wrecked vessels, and dead bodies floating along the shore. Of the rice ships, driven by the hurricane from their moorings, the greater part were lost, or stranded at Madras beach and on different parts of the coast. On the first appearance of the monsoon shifting, his Majesty's fleet anchored in deeper water; soon after stood out to sea, and, weathering many dangers, happily arrived, though not a little shattered, at Bombay, in the end of December.

But, at Madras, the widest doors of calamity seemed now to be thrown open; and fears and future evils pressed down the load of actual suffering. Our squadron was absent, the French Admiral master at sea in the neighbourhood, multitudes swooning in the suburbs and streets for want of food, provisions nearly expended in the garrison, the land around uncultivated and unfown: in a word, famine and war encircled Fort St. George without, and difference of opinions, as to the most material objects of executive

tive government, at that crisis, prevailed in the councils within. It was dreaded, at this time, that Monf. de Suffrein would block up Madras; and Lord Macartney's plans implied the disbanding, or at least the dispersion of the army: but General Stuart, who had a seat in the Madras Committee, as Commander in Chief upon the coast, and who also commanded the King's troops, in the absence of Sir Eyre Coote, maintained, with inflexible firmness, that the army should be kept as much together as possible near the Presidency, without sending detachments to the southward, or any where else, that thus they might be ready for action on the arrival of the proper season.

A few days after the storm, Sir Richard Bickerton arrived from Bombay, with five ships of the line, without having experienced any ill weather, or seen a single ship belonging to the fleet. Sir Richard, after covering the India-men under his convoy, having on board three regiments of infantry, with recruits raised chiefly in Ireland, and the men for Sir John Burgoyne's regiment of light horse, returned immediately, without making a halt, that he might join Sir Edward Hughes at Bombay, at which place Sir Richard arrived even some weeks before the Admiral. During the whole month of October,

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our affairs in the Carnatic continued to wear a gloomy aspect. But, in the month of November they assumed a more prosperous appearance, and, before the end of the year, the face of sorrow was brightened up by the meritorious exertions of the Government of Bengal, who furnished Madras with plentiful supplies of grain.

The conclusion of 1782 was marked by the death of Hyder-Ally, in the 83d year of his age. He preserved the powers of his mind entire, and persevered in his usual habits, acting the part of a profound politician, and able commander, to the morning of the third day before that on which he died. Hyder, on his death-bed, recommended, in a letter which he dictated, to his eldest son, Tippoo Saib, to cultivate a connection with the English, as he found that the French were not to be relied on. It would be difficult to find so noble and unsuspected a testimony to the fair and manly character of the English nation, as that which has been given in the last words of so great a prince and warrior!

Tippoo, at the time of this important event, was engaged in an excursion, in pursuit of the Lieut. Colonels Humberstone and Macleod, towards Pannianah, on the coast of Malabar; which
carries

carries back our Narrative to the arrival of the troops under the command of Colonel Humberstone, on the 16th of February, 1782, at Callicut.

1782.] Colonel Humberstone having, on the 22d of January, landed his troops on Old Woman's Island, at Bombay, for refreshment, re-embarked them on the 27th, on the 28th set sail for Madras, on the 4th of February anchored in the road of Tellicherry, and, on the 9th of the same month, off Anjengo, in the dominions of the king of Travancore.— Here intelligence was received that Hyder-Ally had over-run the whole of the Carnatic; that he threatened the kingdom of Tanjore, and the states of the Marawas, of Madura, and Tinivelly, with utter destruction; that he had circumvented and cut off two British armies, and, in consequence of the improvidence, pusillanimity, and dissensions of the Government of Madras, insulted the dispirited and astonished garrison of Fort St. George itself. Colonel Humberstone was now impatient to go round by Cape Comorin, and to join the army at Madras; but, on receiving undoubted intelligence that the French fleet were at that time to assemble off Point de Galle, in the island of Ceylon; and that commissaries had been sent some time ago

to Columbo, and other ports in Ceylon, to lay up magazines for their fleet and army, he called a council of war, and laid the situation of affairs before them. Some proposed, after a passage of near twelve months, to return for the refreshment of the seamen and soldiers to Bombay, and there to wait a favourable opportunity of going round to Madras: and others, to march such of the soldiers as were able, across the peninsula, from Anjengo to the Carnatic, and to send the ships, with the sick and lame, back to Bombay. But Colonel Mackenzie Humberstone, their Commander, was struck with the delays of the former plan, and the dangers of the latter. He therefore proposed that with his own troops, which did not amount to one thousand, (for the 42d regiment, with the four Indiamen had not yet arrived) and what sepoys could be spared from Tellicherry, to make a diversion on the coast of Malabar, in favour of our army in the Carnatic: a measure which was readily approved by the council. In pursuance of this plan, it was determined that the little army should land at Callicut, which had fallen into the hands of the Tellicherry troops, of which Colonel Humberstone could claim the command, as an officer of superior rank to that of Major Abington. Here, accordingly, the army debarked, and encamped in a cocoa-nut grove, on the 18th of February.

On the 27th of March, the flank companies of the army, with four companies of grenadier sepoys, took the field under Major Robert Douglas, second in command, but accompanied by the Commander in Chief. The rest of the army, under the conduct of Major John Campbell, were ordered to follow. Proceeding southward, by short marches, they determined, on the 7th of April, to attack the fort of Trincolore. The flank corps accordingly, marched at the dawn, and after passing some difficult ground, came up with the enemy about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, drawn up in a field, behind a hedge, and betwixt our army and the fort. An attack was opened upon our men by surprise. The enemy, however, briskly attacked in their turn, soon gave way, and were pursued with great slaughter, for about three miles, to the other side of Trinigardo. They continued to retreat with great precipitation, in three different bodies, till they reached Ramgurree, twenty miles from Trincolore plains: their strength was about one thousand five hundred horse, and three thousand foot. Their Commander, Mugdum-Ally-Khan, a near relation of Hyder's, was killed in the action. The loss sustained by the enemy must have exceeded four hundred men, and several hundred horses. There is reason to suppose that many were carried off, as many

dead bodies were found with ropes about their legs, whom they were obliged to leave behind them. Ours was very trifling. The army rested three days at Vangatty-cottah. In their march to Ternavey, on the 13th of April, which was very sultry, fourteen of the soldiers, of the 100th regiment, unseasoned to the climate, struck by the sun, dropped down, at the same instant, and suddenly died. It is remarkable that these men were, every one of them, the stoutest that day in the line.

On the approach of the rainy season, our troops retired to cantonments at Callicut, where they arrived by the 27th of May. They [1782. again took the field on the 2d of September, with their eye fixed on Pallacottah, a strong fort situated about one mile from Pallacatcherry, which commands the great southern pass between the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel. That important place, they had reason to believe, would fall into their hands, if not defended by a very considerable reinforcement: but such a reinforcement would weaken the enemy on the other side of the peninsula, and contribute to the relief of the Carnatic. The second battalion of the 42d regiment, having now joined them, our army consisted of above nine hundred British, and two thousand Bombay sepoys:

Colonel Humberstone, in order to make the diversion he had in view the more respectable, solicited aid from our good ally and friend the King of Travancore, and obtained twelve hundred sepoy, with European officers and sergeants, maintained at the King's expence. Our little army was accompanied by a train of artillery of six eighteen pounders, two twelve pounders, eight six pounders, and four amuzettes : the whole managed by above eighty European and one hundred and fifty black or native artillery men. But, for want of draught bullocks, they were obliged to leave half of their eighteen pounders, and both their twelve pounders at Pananah. For the same reason, they were obliged to leave all their mortars and howitzers, and the rest of their 18 pounders, at Ramgurree. They came before this place on the 20th of September, and were preparing to open mortar batteries against it, as its lofty situation did not admit of any other mode of attack, when it was deserted on the night of the 6th of October.— Ramgurree is situated thirty miles inland from Pananah, exactly midway between that place and Pallacottah. They therefore garrisoned it with convalescents, and some men that had been slightly wounded, and made it the center link of a chain of communication.

On the 14th they took Mungara-cottah, with about ninety foot prisoners. Here they left all their women and heavy baggage, and on the 18th marched to Pallacatcherry, about ten miles distant. About three miles from the fort they encountered the enemy, who gave way almost without resistance. Our troops pursued them till they had reached their camp, which they had burned to the ground. The English formed their encampment near it, as the enemy were either dispersed or had fled into Pallacottah; and the inhabitants of Pallacottah into the country. On the 19th, they marched and encamped within gun-shot of the fort. An ineffectual cannonade was kept up by the enemy, and various movements were made by our army, one of which encouraged a vain attempt on our camp, from the 19th to the 21st October, when the Commander, convinced that he could not reduce Pallacottah without heavy artillery, gave orders, late at night, for the troops to be under arms at four o'clock next morning, in order to retire to the ground which they had occupied on the night of the 18th.

Unfortunately the Brigade Major, who directed the retreat, instead of putting the line to the right about, ordered them to counter-march, which threw the stores and baggage into the

rear, and exposed them to the enemy, who had early intelligence, which they did not fail to improve, of this movement. The English, in entering the town of Pallacatcherry, were obliged to pass through a narrow defile. Near the farther end of the town, a vidette belonging to a small party of the enemy, was posted on an eminence, with a small light. When the van of our army approached this light, the vidette extinguished it; and this was the signal for an assault. They justly concluded, that when our van reached so far, not above one-third of our line would remain on their side of the defile, and that with them only they would have to combat. The event exceeded their most sanguine wishes; for, by the time that our van had reached the light, scarcely any thing remained to enter the defile but the rear-guard and baggage. On these the enemy made a furious attack: whilst our van faced to the right about, and went to their assistance. The rear-guard, and a small part of the baggage were saved by a movement of the flank companies: but the whole provision of the army was lost, and almost all their ammunition, besides private baggage. Several of our men were mortally wounded; and among these Major G. Hutchinson of the 98th regiment. His death was regretted by the whole army. Even the black troops shed tears at his interment.

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The little English army had taken post on the ground they had intended to occupy, when orders were given to retreat. Colonel Humberstone intended to have remained in camp, on this ground, for some time, and to send back all the bullocks he could collect, to bring up some battering guns from Ramgurree. But, after the late disaster, scarcely any bullocks were to be found: and there was now no resource but in retiring to the coast. They were scarcely on the line of march, when they were attacked from every thicket, and exceedingly harrassed both in their flanks and rear. About sunset they reached the river Caveri, which the late falls of rain had rendered impassable. They therefore rested upon their arms all night, while the Engineer's people were employed in constructing rafts of wood to float them over in the morning. This day they had not tasted any food. Lieutenant Wheeler, with sixteen soldiers, was wounded, and several sepoy killed.

The swelling of the river having subsided in the night, they passed through in the morning undisturbed, and, at night, reached the banks of the river near Mungarah-cottah, which was impassable. This, too, was a day of fasting. With some difficulty a few rice cakes were conveyed in the evening, across the river, from

Mungarah-cottah; from whence also plentiful supplies of bullocks and rice were sent, and conveyed with great ease next morning. During these three last days, a prodigious desertion took place among the sepoys, one of whom, caught in the act of deserting, was blown from the mouth of a cannon. Colonel Humberstone, on the 2d of November, removed his camp to the Mungarah-cottah side of the river, and covered his right flank with the fort. Having previously sent off the sick and wounded, the women, and the baggage to Pananah, he sprung mines under the four bastions of Mungarah-cottah fort. Two of the mines blew the bastions above them to destruction: the other two misgave. At night they reached Cunitery, and, the night after, regained their old ground at Ramgurree, which they blew up on the evening of the 18th.

Here they received repeated and certain information, that Tippoo Saib, during the inaction of our army in the monsoon season, had left the Carnatic, and was advancing towards them at the head of an army of several thousand men, and 24 pieces of cannon. Orders were immediately given for the line to be ready to march by four in the morning. A picquet of about one hundred and fifty men was stationed at the distance of near three miles from Ramgurree, the present station
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of the army. This picquet the Major of Brigade accidentally neglected to call in, in the evening of the 18th, and, in the morning of the 19th, it was with difficulty that a messenger could be found who would venture to go to their post, as it was said that the enemy had been seen in the interval. Lieutenant Halliday, at last, brought them in, after the line had been under arms four hours, waiting their return. It was about nine o'clock, before noon, when our small army began to march: but scarcely had they advanced three miles from their ground, when Tippoo Saib, who had previously sent forward detachments to be posted in advantageous situations for galling them as they passed, opened a cannonade on their rear. They at first attempted to reach Panamah by a short route, through a flat country of rice grounds, without passing the river at all. But they were obliged, after marching some miles, to return to their former course. They were forced to fight their way all day long, both with musketry and cannon. It was nearly dark when they reached that curve, or concave, where there is a ford of the Panamah river: but it was so swollen with the late rains, that it was deemed both by the enemy and our men, impassable.

In this perilous situation they halted for two hours in the utmost incertitude. People were sent

sent both below and above the ford, to find, if possible, a practicable pass. It was determined, if these should return unsuccessful, as the only desperate resource that remained in a desperate case, to beat up the enemy's camp before the approach of morning, and either conquer or die. A ford, however, was found; and though it was so deep as to take ordinary men to the chin, and the strength of the current lifted many off the ground, yet, by clinging to one another, and assisting each other, not a man was lost. A few men of short stature were obliged to let go their muskets and ammunition, which they carried on their heads, in order to save themselves; and only two black women were lost out of the whole army. This was done in the dark, and happily unperceived by the enemy. The 100th regiment covered the passage of the river, for fear of interruption. After having passed, they proceeded with as little noise as possible to the high ground of Ternavey, about five miles distant, and there halted near two hours, kindled large fires, and dried their clothes. Before dawn they moved off, and two miles forward they passed the Pananah river, at the second ford, eight miles above the town of that name, without molestation. The enemy imagining them to be still in the concave of the river, did not stir all night, expecting them to become an easy pray in the morning. This Tippoo afterwards acknowledged at Mangalore.

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They were much surprised therefore, to find, on the morning, that our men had escaped them, and had also repassed the river at the other ford, before even their cavalry came in view of them. Thus the English proceeded on their march without molestation till they came within two miles of the town of Pananah, when some of the enemy attempted to harraßs their rear, but without almost any execution. They entered Pananah about four o'clock afternoon, when they were separated in three divisions, and properly posted for the defence of that place. Thus Colonel Mackenzie Humberstone, to a certain degree, effected a diversion on the Malabar coast for the relief of the Carnatic : but not without risk, in moving so far as he did from the sea, without the means of draft and carriage cattle for his guns and subsistence ; for, if Colonel Macleod had not, by good fortune, landed with a force at Pananah to support Humberstone in his retreat to the coast, Tippoo might have entirely defeated the whole of his original force. But on the other hand, had the southern army, under Colonel Lang, marched towards Palacatcherry, as Humberstone had been taught to expect, the progress of Tippoo might have been impeded,

Our army, closely blockaded, were employed in raising lines of defence, when, on the morning of the 28th of November, before [1782.

dawn,

dawn, a general assault was made by the enemy on the center post, commanded by Major Campbell. The enemy were headed by Mr. Lally, with a party, if not all his men, on foot. They came in columns, took a small mud fort without our lines, and dislodged our sepoy's without resistance. The alarm was immediately given, and the besieged were instantly in arms. The enemy, however, had already reached our lines, and were in possession of our guns. The 42d regiment attacked them vigorously with the bayonet, and soon turned their front back upon those who supported them. These, attempting to flee, put their followers in confusion. A general route took place, though they repeatedly endeavoured to rally. The contest had been maintained for several hours, when the enemy retreated, leaving about five hundred dead on the field. The number of killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to upwards of a thousand. Captain de L'Isle and a young Ensign were made prisoners; the first mortally wounded. Tippoo remained, however, for some days, in the beginning of December, within a few miles of Colonel Macleod, when, upon the news of Hyder's last illness, he returned with the utmost expedition towards the Carnatic.

Tippoo, the first born of Hyder, was the son of a concubine. His brother, though younger

younger, possessed the advantage of being descended from a princess of royal extraction.--- Though neither the capacity nor the ambition of this young man were such as to impress the mind of Tippoo with fear, he yet judged it prudent to fix himself in the administration of affairs, in the first place, and by firm possession, to prevent all ideas of competition. The moment, therefore, that he heard of his father's death, he returned with incredible celerity to the Carnatic, secured the good will of the principal officers of the army by liberal presents, as well as promises of favour, and anticipated cabal and faction by the authority of his presence, and an immediate exercise of power.

Much about the time that the demolition of Vandewash had been effected, with marked disgrace to Tippoo and the French, in February, 1783, it appears that there were certain conferences concerning peace interchanged between Lord Macartney and Tippoo, through the medium of the Tanjore Vakeel: but, it seems that the propositions came first from the Resident, and on that account, perhaps, were slighted by Tippoo; for the negotiation came to nothing. The treaty that had been lately concluded with the Mahrattas, and the wonderful successes of our western army, now under the command of Bri-

Brigadier-General Mathews, it was supposed, would have constrained Tippoo to come into any reasonable terms of peace; but it was found, that he expected to re-establish his affairs on the Malabar coast, in time to act again in the Carnatic, in conjunction with the French, on the arrival of M. de Buffy, hourly expected. And although, in order to avoid the arms of the Mahrattas, as well as to oppose the English army on the other side of the peninsula, he determined to withdraw the chief part of his troops from the Carnatic; he destroyed Arcot and the other forts which he had garrisoned, retained in his service a battalion of French troops, for the support of our enemies, at Cuddalore, besides six thousand horse, and many thousand Carnatic peons, left in the back country there, under the command of Seyd-Saib, and marched in quest of General Mathews, who was, by this time, in possession of the capital of Bednore, and rapidly extending his conquests all around him. These things took place in the beginning of 1783.] March.

In January, 1783, General Matthews landed from Bombay, with 400 Europeans, and 1000 sepoy's, at Rajah Mandroog, near Margee, about three hundred miles northward of Pananah. He took Onore by storm, with several small forts

forts of little consequence. At Cundapore, on the 17th of January, he was joined by the troops from Pananah, under the command of Colonel Macleod. His army consisted now of fifteen hundred effective Europeans and four thousand sepoy, with a proportionate number of lascars and artillery, two twelve-pounder field pieces, four six-pounders, two two-pounders, and two one-pounder amuzettes. For each of these guns, it was with difficulty that he found conveyance for an hundred rounds of ammunition; thirty rounds of musket ammunition each man, exclusive of what they carried in their pockets, and four days provision, which both Europeans and sepoy carried on their backs. On the 23d of January, in the evening, this army was set in motion, directing their line of march towards the great pass which leads to the table-land of Hindostan, over that chain of mountains which runs from Cape Comorin northward into Persia. Having marched about three miles, they halted at a place where a branch of the road towards the pass shoots off to Mangalore. On the 24th they marched to a village called Soull. The enemy took possession of some hills covered with brushwood, about four miles from our encampment. They were driven before our men with considerable loss on their side; but on ours, only eight or ten men wounded. There is a river which
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runs quite close to the village of Soull, by means of which the General expected to be met at that place, with several boats laden with provisions. But on his arrival there, he found the river only a small stream, not six inches deep.

Disappointed of the stores expected by water at Soull, our army depended wholly on accidental supplies. For the Europeans, to a man, and many of the sepoy had thrown off their provisions in the late skirmish. They found rice enough in the village, for present refreshment to the sepoy; but both beef and arrack was wanting to the Europeans. Next day they marched, five miles, to Siddapore, where they found 2000 bags of rice. Though the journey was short, the space of nine hours was consumed in accomplishing it. The roads were so bad, and the number of draft cattle so scanty, that they were obliged, in several places, to put the bullocks of two guns to one, and then to return for the other gun.

On the morning of the 26th, our army marched to a fort and village, six miles distant, situated at the foot of the ghaut, and called Hufstain-Gurry. About half way between this place and Siddapore, the enemy felled the trees across the road, and lined the thick brushwood on either
side

side. About four hundred yards from the place where this abbatis began, they took advantage of a steep eminence, with a batta field in front, to throw up a breast-work, which they lined with two or three thousand men. The right wing of our army, commanded by Colonel Macleod, soon drove the parties from the woods, and pursuing them with all the ardour of Highlanders, penetrated the breast-work before the enemy were aware of their approach. Macleod himself was the first man that mounted the work. The 42d regiment bravely supported the gallantry of their Colonel, and the sepoys, the courage of the Europeans. Four hundred of the enemy were put to the bayonet, as they fled with precipitation from the village of Huf-fain-Gurry to the fort. The army that was opposed to our troops on this occasion, and which amounted nearly to 7,000 men before this encounter, had been very daring. On our encampment at Cundapore, which they had continually harraffed, they proceeded at last to make, at two different times, a furious attack. But from this day they were struck with a panic, and never made any considerable resistance.

The joy of our army, on their arrival at Huf-fain-Gurry, was damped by a prospect of the

difficulties which they had yet to encounter.— They had upwards of sixty wounded men, and only thirty doolies, and no provisions of any kind. The two actions in which they had been engaged, had so far expended their musquet ammunition, that they had not more than what was sufficient to replenish their cartouch boxes : and the fort appeared so well built, that they could not entertain any hopes of reducing it with their field-pieces, even if they had been properly supplied with ammunition. But all the powder was expended that had been allotted for the amuzette, and about one third of that of the six pounders. A general anxiety and indignation against the man whose imprudence had brought them into this critical situation, was loudly resounded throughout the army.— The General himself began to be alarmed, and talked of returning on his steps. But conveyance was wanted for the wounded. A retreating army would be closely pressed and harrassed by the enemy, in a country peculiarly adapted to that mode of fighting : and how was it possible for them, in such circumstances of adversity, to defend themselves without ammunition ?

In this dilemma, one of the inhabitants of the village of Huffain-Gurry offered to give an account of the fort for a reward. The General,
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even in his present alarming situation, is said to have betrayed the fordid passion that predominated in his nature, by restraining his bounty on this important occasion to the pitiful sum of a single rupee. He was informed that the fort was square, but not so strong behind as in front. The General then procured guides, who were to conduct Colonel Macleod, with one division of the army, and Colonel Mackenzie Humberstone, with another, so that they should ascend the ghaut, and come in rear of the various batteries erected in the great road for its defence, while he himself, at the head of a third, should amuse them in front. But Macleod and Humberstone having closely examined their intended conductors, found that they differed very much in their accounts. The guide appointed to Humberstone told him, very fairly, that he must not be angry with him if he should miss the road; that he could not be answerable for it, though he would undertake to do his best.--- Macleod's guide told him nearly the same thing; and he found, that instead of being brought round to the rear of the batteries by day-break, as was expected by the General, the utmost he could hope for would be to reach them in the afternoon of the ensuing day. Besides the discouragement arising from their guides, the troops had been under arms from two in the morning

till noon ; and though a scanty supply of rice had been found in the village for those who were off duty, yet they wanted rest. But a very large proportion of our men had been on duty close under the fort, and had not been refreshed by either rest or provisions. The want of subsistence was an insuperable obstacle to the execution of the General's plan, which was accordingly abandoned. The return of day, by discovering a secret which the English Commander ought to have known sooner, delivered our little army from the most painful anxiety and suspense. What they had taken for a fort appeared to be only a barrier thrown across the road, with two short flanks, and that in the rear it had no defence of any kind. In this post, which had been deserted by the enemy at three o'clock in the morning, they found all they wanted : a sufficient supply of musket ammunition, plenty of rice, and fifteen pieces of very fine artillery. Our troops, being refreshed by a night's rest, pressed onward up the pass. Colonel Macleod was sent with his guide through the woods to gain the rear of the batteries, as at first proposed. While one party of our men amused the enemy in front, others pushed through the jungle on each side, and at night they found themselves at the top of the ghaut, a pass so difficult and inaccessible that it required not for its defence
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the aid of any batteries. A handful of resolute men might defend it with small arms against numbers.

* It was exceedingly fortunate that the inability of our men to proceed, from want of provisions, prevented all attempts to execute the General's plan of gaining the rear of the batteries through bye-ways: for Colonel Macleod, after struggling a great part of the day through impenetrable thickets, and coming, at last, to an impassable precipice, was told by his guide, that he might hang him if he pleased, that he had lost the road, and could say nothing more on the subject. The Colonel, with his party, was obliged of course to return to Hufsin-Gurry. Here he refreshed his men with food and four hours sleep. The battery being by this time in possession of our troops, Colonel Macleod marched up the pass without resistance.

Though our army had now gained the summit of the ghaut, and so many difficulties and dangers were surmounted, yet still the reduction of Bednore remained to be accomplished; and this appeared, on reasonable grounds, to be impossible. They had not any battering artillery. Neither their twelve nor their six pounders could mount the ghaut, in the space be-

tween the lower and the middle batteries : so that even the possession of the pass could not give the command of the country to which it led. But the same good fortune that carried them safe through so many hazards, supplied their wants on this critical occasion. They found, in the upper battery, besides immense magazines, five iron eighteen-pounders and several brass field-pieces.

All, however, they have to apprehend, is not yet over. A report prevails, that an army, forty thousand strong, is advancing towards Hyder-Nagur, under the command of Mahomed-Ally. This force may come up with them before the reduction of that place : and the whole fate of the expedition seems yet to tremble on the uncertain issue of one decisive battle.

In these circumstances, to crown the series of our good fortune, behold, in our camp, a messenger from the Governor of Bednore, with proposals of surrendering that extensive and wealthy country, with all its forts and treasures, of governing it under the Company, and joining their troops for the purpose of mutual defence ! This voluntary surrender of the most important town and fortress in the enemy's dominions, was chiefly owing to the singular merit of an individual

dividual in the Company's service, which well deserves to be recorded.

Captain Donald Campbell, of the Company's Military Establishment at Madras, had arrived from England at Bombay, in March, 1782, and, having taken his passage on board a vessel bound for Fort St. George, was shipwrecked on Hyder's coast, where nine out of twelve Europeans that were with him, lost their lives. Campbell, one of the surviving three, was made prisoner, stripped naked, and marched, in that condition, to the Fort of Hyder-Nagur, where he remained ten months, and four of these in irons. During the period of his confinement, he was used with lenity or severity, according to the humour of Hyat-Saheb, Hyder's favourite son-in-law, and his principal Jemmidar in the Bednore provinces. The Captain had often entertained this man with an account of the situation and power of the British nation, and of the East India Company in Bengal and Madras, as well as at Bombay, with the view of persuading him to throw off all subordination and allegiance to Tippoo Saib, and depend solely on the English. The Jemmidar, aware that he was a constant object of jealousy and hatred to Tippoo, listened to the insinuations of Campbell with inward satisfaction. It was, perhaps, to conceal that satisfaction, and to prevent the suspicions to which

his intercourse with this English officer might give birth, that he all at once refused to see him, and loaded him with heavier irons.

Captain Campbell, mean-while, by his fellow-prisoners, the 29th battalion of Madras sepoy, was informed of the movement of General Mathews's army, but remained in great uncertainty with regard to his own safety. On the 26th of January, when Mathews had gained the summit of the ghaut, he received an order to appear before the Jemmidar. At the same time, he was privately informed that it was intended to put him to death. The Captain, though he gave little credit to this report, being apprehensive of imprisonment at Seringapatnam, availed himself of the assistance of the reporter, who was a person of distinction, to effect his escape. But, soon after he was at liberty, he began to reflect on the different conversations that passed between himself and Hyat-Saheb, his treatment of him previous to the time when he threw him in irons, the death of Hyder, the character of Tippoo-Saib, the information he had received concerning the mutual jealousy that subsisted between the Jemmidar and the Sultan, the nature of the government, which admitted of sudden revolution, the situation and

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disposition of the natives, and other circumstances. Under the influence of these considerations, as well as those of his own undermined constitution and unpromising views, both at home and in India, Captain Campbell embraced the generous resolution of returning back, at all hazards, and endeavouring to draw over the Governor of Bednore to the interests of the English. He accordingly returned to the fort, put himself under the power of the Jemmidar, and fortunately persuaded him to make an offer to General Mathews, of delivering up Hyder-Nagur, with all the other forts, and the whole district of Bednore, under his charge, to the East India Company, and acting as their friend and servant, on condition of being continued in his present situation, with the same authority which he had enjoyed under Hyder. To these proposals, of which Captain Campbell was the bearer, the General immediately agreed. The Captain returned instantly to Hyder-Nagur, and with the assistance of the Carnatic sepoys, prisoners at large, many of whom he formerly knew, in order to prevent those tumults which often arise in moments of important decision and change from sudden consternation and repentance, seized the arsenal, the powder-magazines, and the gates of the fortress. By ten o'clock in the morning of the 28th of January, Brigadier-General

General Mathews, with the 100th regiment and two battalions of sepoy, took peaceable possession of Hyder-Nagur, the principal seat of Hyder-Ally's wealth, power, and splendour.—The fort was occupied by a party of sepoy; the rest of the troops were encamped under the walls.

The Jemmidar, after this, gave orders that the dependant forts should be delivered up to the English forces. Of these, the greater part obeyed the summons: Mangalore, Deckull, and Ananpore, were surrendered, after an obstinate resistance. The fortress of Ananpore, having first violated the rules of war, by detaining our flags of truce, and sending them off prisoners, after a practicable breach was made, on the 14th of February, 1783, stood the storm. All who resisted were sacrificed to the rules of war, to the amount of about three hundred men. Our next attack was made against Mangalore. Rustan-Ally-Beg, the Commandant, endeavoured to rouse his people to defend a breach, made on the 9th of March. They refused to obey him, and he was obliged to surrender. Rustan-Ally was hanged, by orders of the Sultan. Deckull was taken by storm, on the 7th of April, by a detachment under the command of Lieutenant Dun.

As these successes displayed, in the most striking manner, the influence of fortune, so what follows will shew with equal force, that there can be no permanent prosperity or real glory without prudence. General Mathews weakened his small force by dispersion, alienated the affections and the confidence of his own men, and instead of establishing himself in the hearts of those who had yielded to his arms, treated them with neglect, and even studied insult. He neither returned thanks to the officers and men for their distinguished valour, nor adhered to the terms of capitulation which he had made with Hyat-Saheb, whom he pillaged, insulted, and irritated. Of the immense treasure found in Hyder-Nagur he defrauded the army, on pretence that it was the private property of the Governor, and appropriated it solely to himself. Captain Campbell, in negotiating the terms of surrender, obtained a secret promise from Mathews that, out of the money found in the fort, the sum of 12,000 pagodas should be given to one of the Mahomedan Commander's favourites. This promise was violated. The whole treasure, computed at various amounts, from one to three hundred thousand pounds, was sent to Cundapore. It was delivered to Captain Mathews, brother to the General, in order to be remitted from Goa to Europe. Captain Mathews was afterwards taken prisoner,

prisoner, and put to death by the enemy : and, from circumstances that have since appeared, it is probable that the enemy also became masters of the wealth with which he had been entrusted.

Detachments from the army were sent to occupy every village and every mud fort. Nor were these detachments made by detail, or in any regular manner ; so that all was in confusion, as the officers were not able to account for their men. The English garrison in Hyder-Nagur did not now exceed three hundred Europeans and a thousand sepoy.

Tippoo Saib's army, consisting of fifty thousand men, with twenty-five pieces of cannon, came upon this small force on the 9th of April, drove in a detachment stationed at Fattiput, four miles distant, and having taken the town of Bednore, with a considerable quantity of ammunition, which no precaution had been taken to lay up in the magazines, closely besieged the fort. Two sorties made upon the assailants with greater spirit than judgment produced not any consequences of importance. The English diminished in their numbers by diseases, as well the sword, unprovided with casemates, their provisions exhausted, and their ammunition expended, were, on the 26th of April, reduced to
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the necessity of capitulation. Honourable terms were promised to them; and on the second of May, they marched out with the honours of war, grounded their arms at a considerable distance from the fort, and began to prepare for to-morrow's march to Sadaashagur, upon the coast of Malabar, where, according to the articles of capitulation, they were to embark for Bombay or Tellicherry. But they were suddenly surrounded by a large body of troops, and suffered the treatment that has already been described. Tippoo said, that our army had forfeited their claim to be set at liberty, by a breach of the articles of capitulation, in embezzling and secreting the public money, which was all to be delivered up. The sufferings of these men have been impiously considered by fantastical spirits as visitations of Providence: while others of undoubted liberality of sentiment, (for who will not allow the conductors of the Annual Register to be such?) misled by erroneous accounts from India, have represented them as the natural, if not the judicial consequences of their own enormities. The surviving officers of the unfortunate army, fired with indignation at these reproaches, published in concert, a satisfactory vindication of their conduct. But, in this Apology, they are obliged to arraign the exaggerations, absurdities, and lies of a certain young man of their own

own order : and thus they make, at once, their own defence, and that of the publication of which they complain.

The discontents that prevailed on account of the arbitrary and distracted measures pursued by General Mathews, particularly at his refusal to divide any part of the spoils of Bednore with his officers and soldiers, were so great, that, soon after the reduction of that city, the Colonels Macleod and Humberstone, with Major Shaw, left the army, and went straight to Bombay, to lay the matters of which they complained before the Governor and Council. Their representations were so well supported, and the conduct of General Mathews so flagrantly unjust, and absurd, that the Bombay Government immediately superseded him, and appointed Colonel Macleod, the next in command, Brigadier-General and Commander in Chief in his stead. The new General, with Colonel Humberstone and Major Shaw, on their return in the *Ranger* snow, to join the army, on the 27th of April, off *Geriah*, fell in with the Mahratta fleet, consisting of five sail of square-rigged vessels. Peace had been agreed on and proclaimed at Bombay before the departure of the *Ranger*, though the Mahrattas did not know of it. The Mahratta fleet accordingly, without ceremony, and with an

an impetuosity which precluded an eclaircissement, attacked the Ranger most furiously. The battle was most obstinate : nor did it close till almost every man in the English ship was killed or wounded. Among the former was Major Shaw, of the 100th regiment ; and among the latter, Brigadier General Macleod, Colonel Humberstone, and Lieut. J. Taylor, a man distinguished by the sweetness of his manners, and the generosity of his disposition. These gentlemen, with the Captain of the ship, Pruin, were carried prisoners into Geriah, a port of the Mahrattas, where they remained for several weeks. Here Colonel Mackenzie Humberstone died of his wounds, in the 28th year of his age. He expired, it is said, in the arms of his friend Colonel Macleod. An early and habitual conversancy with the heroes of antient as well as modern times, nourished in the mind of Humberstone a passion for military glory, and supported him under unremitting application to all those studies and exercises by which he might improve himself both in mind and body, rise to honourable distinction, and render his name immortal. He was not only acute, but profound and steady in his views, gallant without ostentation, and spirited without temerity and imprudence. His untimely and lamented death, in the opinion of some, seemed to arraign the conduct

duet of the new General, whose impatience and high passions, it was said, had precipitated him into an action, which, by a proper explanation, might have been avoided. But such explanation the impetuosity of the attack had rendered it impracticable; and though the defence was desperate, fighting, in the opinion of Captain Pruin, as appears from his letter on that occasion to the Government of Bombay, seemed the only alternative consistent with the honour of a British seaman.

Soon after General Macleod, with his associates, left the army, in order to go to Bombay, Major Campbell, with the 42d regt. was ordered from Bednore to Monbiddry and Carical, two small forts below the ghauts: from whence, on the passes of Hyder-Gur and Samlatsha being attacked and carried by Tippoo Sultan, he made a prudent retreat, first to Gulpore, where he encamped, and afterwards to Mangalore, where he took the command from Captain Sartorius, who was the Chief Engineer. A body of the enemy, to the number of six or seven thousand, having assembled in force, on the heights of Coodry, and threatened our foraging parties, it was thought necessary to try to dislodge them.

1783.] On the 6th of May, therefore, before dawn, all the troops in garrison, (the 4th battalion

battalion of grenadier sepoys excepted, marched out of Mangalore, together with the first battalion of sepoys, that had arrived on the day before from Bombay, about 1400 men in all, surprised the enemy just at the dawn, put them immediately into confusion, killed a considerable number of them, and took two brass and two iron ordnance, three tumbrils, one hundred and eighty-five bullocks, and some horses. Intelligence was now brought that a large army was approaching, and confirmed the melancholy account of the fall of Bednore.—On the 16th, a scout of about twenty horsemen appeared; and, on the 17th, a greater body reconnoitred the heights of Coodry, the field of action of the 6th instant. There, on the next day, part of their army encamped, and were augmented daily till the 20th; when they drove in our picquets, and made themselves masters of part of the town, while our troops defended the other part of it with four guns and a part of the 100th regiment. The first and eighth battalions of sepoys, stationed on a hill, 1200 yards distant, were, on the morning of the 23d, attacked, nearly surrounded, and hard pursued to the gates of Mangalore. In this pursuit, two of our officers, a Captain and an Ensign, were killed, two subalterns wounded and taken, and three Sergeants, with about three hundred black troops,

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killed and missing. The whole coast now acknowledged its former master; Mangalore, with its dependencies, Onore, and the small fort of Carawar, only excepted. Leaving, for the present, Mangalore closely invested by Tippoo Saib, let us now return to the Carnatic, where our army, relieved from the pressure of Tippoo's arms, began to act with greater effect than formerly, as well as with greater freedom.

The English army under the command of Major-General Stuart, was drawn out in full force, consisting of about nineteen hundred Europeans and eleven thousand sepoy, from their cantonments around Madras, and encamped, with 1783.] the whole field artillery, on the 2d of January, at the Mount, but scarcely with the means of carrying rice and provisions for ten days. To this force two powerful enemies were opposed in the Carnatic, and a third, which was expected to arrive from Europe, under the Marquis de Bussy, threatened a descent on the Company's northern Circars. The Mysoreans, under the command of Tippoo Saib, in person, were strengthened by a large body of French troops, commanded by Brigadier-General Monsieur de Hauffliffe; and Mons. de Suffrein, with the French squadron, consisting of ten sail of the line and two frigates, in order to favour the intended

intended invasion of the northern provinces by the Marquis de Buffy, had taken post to the north of both Madras and Maffulipatam. In this critical situation of public affairs, General Stuart, then in the Chief Command of the troops, thought fit to present his plan both for the defence of the Circars, and for the immediate operations of the Carnatic main army : this plan is on record, and was adopted by the Madras Government. Two Carnatic battalions, with all the Europeans in the Circars, amounting to about four hundred effective men, were added to the force near Maffulipatam, under the command of Colonel Jones. The guns and stores at Vizagapatam were divided between Ganjam and Maffulipatam, and magazines of grain were formed and secured at proper places to the northward. The happy consequences resulting from the compact and connected position of the main army near the Presidency at this crisis, was very sensibly felt, as measures for the general operations of the army the best suited to all probable contingencies, were thus deliberately adopted, without danger of interruption from the enemy : for, soon after Sir Eyre Coote's return to Bengal, there had arisen great differences in the Committee of Council at Madras, between the President, Lord Macartney, and the Commander in Chief, General Stuart : the former

being of opinion that no greater number of troops was necessary in the Carnatic than what might serve as an army of observation; the latter insisting, that unless the army could be kept together, to oppose our foes in the field, every garrison and every place of strength, would undoubtedly, in a short time, fall into the hands of the enemy. The Civil Governor deemed it most advisable, after the unproductive marches and indecisive victories of Sir Eyre Coote, to divide the troops by different detachments, for the purpose of separate and distant enterprizes. The Military Commander, who considered Tippoo Saib, and all the native powers in India, as only in the second rank of enemies, determined to break the strength of our European foes in Asia, in the first place, confident that the power and influence of Great Britain in that quarter of the world would be quickly re-established on their ruins. And, until the French * should be expelled from posts of strength or commerce in India, he considered all places at any distance from the coast, Vellore only excepted, as scarcely worth the expence of garrisons.—Much time was consumed in dissensions of this sort,

* The French force in India, at this time, and before the arrival of the Marquis de Bussy, consisted of 2000 Europeans, 300 Caffres, 25 guns, 4 howitzers, and about 2500 sepoy, in the pay of France.

fort, betwixt the Civil Governor and Military Commander, with which the Company's records are said to be filled; and the General seems to have had more difficulties to struggle with in the Madras Committee than he found in defeating the plans and views of the united powers of the French and Myforeans in the field, though so happily, at last effected.

1783.] During the month of January, the General remained encamped in full force, and in certain positions, where he watched the movements of both the French and Tippoo, determined to embrace any opportunity that might arise of bringing them to action; and thus, while he detained the main united strength of the enemy, who were hourly expecting the arrival of M. de Buffy, Colonel Lang was also left at liberty to act in the southern provinces; and our operations on the Malabar side of India, where the successor of Hyder was chiefly vulnerable, were left unembarrassed. If the French should land, as expected, under Mons. de Buffy, a force had been assembled in the Circars, in a central situation, sufficient to oppose them singly; and if the united force of the French and Myforeans should move to the northward, for the support of Mons. de Buffy, our

army would be ready to move in that direction, in order to impede a junction.

The intelligence that was received of the designs of the French, and the general situation of affairs on the coast, rendered it expedient to demolish the forts of Carangooly and Vandewash, and to withdraw the garrisons. The measure, it was naturally imagined, might be attended with the collateral advantages of bringing the enemy to action, who were then assembled at a small distance from Vandewash. The army, in pursuance of these designs, on the 5th of February, encamped on the southern banks of the Palar, beyond Chingleput, and above forty miles from Madras. On the morning of the 6th, they took up their ground at Carangooly, and afterwards moved, on the 9th, to Vandewash, where they encamped. In a few days, the demolition of these places was effected, and the garrisons and stores withdrawn. During the interval between the commencement and completion of the total demolition of Vandewash, the combined forces of the French and Mysoreans were dared to battle, which they declined, and afterwards retired with precipitation from the ground.

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The General having returned, on the 25th 1783] of February, to Madras, employed his care and attention in laying in a sufficient stock of rice at Vellore. This important place was then within a few days of being in absolute want.— From this service, began on the 3d of March, the General returned to the Presidency on the 20th of the same month.

At this time, certain intelligence was received, that Monf. de Buffly * had been some days at Cuddalore; and that he had brought with him a force of 2,200 regular troops of France, besides 1,000 Caffres from the islands. And, on the 25th of March, two French ships of the line and frigates had then actually blocked up the port of Madras, with a view to intercept the trade and supplies. From this period, the General was wholly employed in the preparations necessary for taking the field. The great object he had in view was to attack and overthrow the whole body of the French army at Cuddalore, and seize their train of artillery and stores, as soon as the co-operation of his Majesty's Squadron should afford a rational hope of being able to carry his designs into execution. Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Hughes having returned from Bom-

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* This is the same gentleman mentioned in Mr. Orme's History.

bay to Madras on the 13th of April, and declared his readiness to co-operate with the army in any measures for distressing the enemy, General Stuart, after employing all the army carriage in sending forward a provision of rice, left Madras on the 19th of April, in the evening, and, next morning, joined the army at Taumarum.

The grand lines of the plan on which the General determined to conduct this campaign, appear to have been those—In order to drive the French with expedition, and with the greatest prospect of success, either to the sea, or inward into the center of the Mysore country, the most important object, at that crisis, which could occupy his mind, he endeavoured to unite the efforts of the fleet with the main army under his own command, and the field force in the provinces southward of the Coleroon, in one system of co-operation against Cuddalore. It was accordingly resolved, in a committee of the Council of Madras, on the 17th of April, that General Stuart should be empowered to order Colonel Lang, the officer commanding in those provinces, with the principal part of his forces, to join the main army. The mode in which the fleet might best co-operate with the army, the General conceived, would be, to keep a steady eye on Mons.
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de Suffrein, to conduct the provision and store-ships as far as Cuddalore, and then to leave them with such frigates as the Admiral could spare. The rice, for which means of carriage might be wanting, was to be deposited in posts, as the army should advance; whose movements were to be regulated as nearly as possible, by the time of Sir Edward Hughes getting to his station off Trincomalée, so as to be in sight of the French Squadron there, and of Captain Halliday in the Isis, with the store-ships and reinforcements appearing to the south of Cuddalore: while the precise route which the army was to take on passing Pondicherry, to occupy their ultimate position at Cuddalore, was kept a secret by the General, even from the President and Committee of the Madras Council.

The Commander in Chief, for months previous to the march of the army in April, repeatedly informed both Colonel Lang and Colonel Fullarton (the first and second in the southern command) of the general plan for the campaign against the French at Cuddalore, and his own expectations of their co-operation. The unavoidable uncertainty with regard to the precise time when the British fleet, or the Isis and store-ships, could get to their stations, put it out of his power to be more particular as to the time
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when it might be necessary for the southern force to cross the Coleroon, to form a junction with his army: the General, therefore, in the end of April, wrote to the Commanding Officer of the southern force, that he should not, on account of that co-operation, give up any attainable object of conquest about which he was *actually* employed—that his wish was for him to succeed in whatever he had then *in hand*, and afterwards to co-operate with him for the greatest of all national services.

In pursuance of this plan, the army under the command of General Stuart proceeded on their march, from their camp in the neighbourhood of Madras, towards Cuddalore, on the 21st day [1783.] of April. One of the brigades had moved on two days march in advance, and was at Parmacoil, in sight of the French advanced post, upon the 26th of April. The General's plan, as communicated to the Madras Government, was, to remain nearly in that position until he could be informed concerning Sir Edward Hughes's movements, and those of the provision and store-ships leaving Madras road; and, in the mean time, that the immediate wants of the army should be supplied from the stores at Chingleput and the Presidency.

At Chingleput, where they halted for a few days, they were informed that Sir Eyre Coote died at Madras, on the 26th of April, being the third day after his arrival from Calcutta. The ship that carried him was chased for five days by French cruizers. This circumstance, it is thought, operating with too forcible an impression on his mind, which was lofty and prone to irritation, was that which brought on the third and mortal stroke of the palsy, which terminated his life, spent in the pursuit of military glory, without pain and without a groan.

From various circumstances, and particularly the time requisite for taking in a sufficient provision of water, it was the 2d of May before the Admiral set sail to the southward from Madras; and, on the 17th the British fleet, in consequence of adverse winds and currents, had not proceeded farther than six leagues south-east of Conji-meer. Capt. Halliday, in the *Isis*, with the store-ships, having on board Major-General Bruce, with the necessary reinforcements for the operations at Cuddalore, did not leave the roads of Madras until the 14th of May. Before the commencement of such operations, it was of the last importance, that those ships should be within the reach of our army. It was also of importance, that the intentions of the English Commander, with regard

to that part of Cuddalore against which his attack was to be directed, should be concealed from the French as long as possible. But, had our General taken up his ultimate ground before the arrival of the provision and store-ships and reinforcements, those intentions must have been prematurely discovered. The General, therefore, continued, according to his original plan, to regulate his movements by those of our naval force and convoy: and, it so happened, that the Isis having appeared in sight on the 6th, and anchored at her fixed destination, south of Cuddalore, on the 7th of June, on that very day General Stuart took up his ultimate ground on the land side also south of Cuddalore. On the evening of the 8th Major General Bruce and Colonel Wangenheim, with the Hanoverians and other European troops, to the number of 800 men, disembarked from Captain Hallidays convoy, and marched to camp. Even after this junction the French army in possession of Cuddalore contained a greater number of regular European forces than that under the command of General Stuart: though not above half the number of native troops. It became the General's object to drive the enemy from such parts of the Round-hedge, as might be necessary for commencing his approaches, and to force them to take shelter under the guns of Cuddalore,

lore, if not within the place itself. Though the out-sentries of the different armies were so near as that they might speak together, he avoided all flight skirmishing, determined, in one vigorous and well-concerted attack to effect his purpose. He made the disposition, and gave out the general orders for driving all the French out-posts under the guns of Cuddalore, on the 12th of June. The attack was to begin precisely at day-break next morning.

Lieutenant Colonel Kelly, with a brigade of native troops, and one hundred and eighty Europeans, marched, about midnight, without artillery, by a foot-path unknown to the French, which led to the rear of the work on their right hand, on the Vandy-Pollam Hills. To seize this post was the first and leading object in the General's plan of operations. The European grenadiers, about three hundred rank and file, and the 73d regiment, about two hundred, with two battalions of sepoy, covered by the fire of a battery of six eighteen pounders, under Colonel Elliot of the Bengal Establishment, were to wait the success of Colonel Kelly, and storm the intrenchments to the enemy's right. The success of this attempt was to be immediately followed by assaults on their left and center, supported by the Hanoverians and reserve.

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1783.] On the 13th of June, accordingly, as the day began to dawn, a cannonade from the eighteen pounders, and from some field-pieces, brought up by Major Mackay, of the Madras Establishment, opened from commanding heights upon the works to the enemy's right. The column under Lieutenant Colonel Kelly appeared at the same instant in their rear. They were struck with terror and surprize, fled from their strong posts on the Vandy-Pollam Hills, and retired in confusion to their second work, leaving two six pounders, and several guns, to be possessed by our men on the intrenched ground below. The eminence upon which the eighteen pounders were placed, was chosen by the Commander in Chief for his own station, from whence the signals were to be made, according to varying and unforeseen circumstances.

Our troops advanced against the enemy thro' a deep sand. The intended attack on the enemy's right, consisting of the grenadiers and picquets of our left, under Colonel Stewart and Lieut. Colonel Cathcart, was resisted by such a powerful fire from the enemy, that Colonel Stewart, with great judgement, retired to a post where he might be covered, until, upon reconnoitering, a further disposition could be taken to approach the enemy. He sent a report of his
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situation in a note to the General; who, upon certain information just then received, that the redoubt which principally annoyed them was unfinished, and accessible in the rear, gave orders for the grenadiers and the reserve on our right, to close upon the enemy in front; and also to Major-Gen. Bruce, to advance with the troops under his command, in the same direction. These new dispositions were communicated to Col. Stewart, with orders to enter in the rear of the redoubt, whenever any occasion should offer. Sufficient time was allowed for carrying these orders, on a certain signal being given, into execution. The concentrated efforts of the divisions of our army, just mentioned, according to this new arrangement, were crowned with success. For, while the French were pursuing some temporary advantage which they obtained over part of the reserve, the grenadiers and 73d regiment, under Lieut. Colonel Catchcart and Major Lamont, supported by the picquets under Colonel Stewart, turned the rear of the French unfinished redoubt. This movement threw the French into confusion, and fixed the fortune of the day in favour of the English. The evening, which broke off the engagement, left the English in possession of the Vandy-Pollam Hills, the enemy's second works, and about twenty pieces of their cannon.

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In contemplating this scene, one of the hottest that had happened in the course of the war, we are not a little struck with that presence of mind which appeared in the conduct of General Stuart, and that cool courage which was displayed by the troops under his command : the former changing the disposition of the attack, according to circumstances, in the heat of the action ; the latter waiting in silence for their General's commands, and, on the signal given, carrying his new orders into punctual execution. Of our officers 25 were killed, and 48 wounded. Of the privates about 200 were killed, and 700 wounded. Among the gallant individuals, lost to their friends and the public service on that memorable day, were, Captain Walter Douglas, Captain Peter Campbell, Captain Lindsay, and Major Varrenius, of the Hanoverians.

During the night of the 13th, the English lay upon their arms, expecting that the enemy, who knew the fatigued state of our troops, would attempt to recover, by an attack in the night, the ground they had lost in the action of the day. This measure was in fact strongly recommended in a Council of War, by almost all their officers : but the old and infirm Marquis Bussy, who began now to contemplate objects
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objects through the mist of age, and saw only the hazards against himself, cautiously carried off every thing, while it was dark, within the walls of Cuddalore. Nothing more material than the common operations of breaking ground, came to pass for three days.

But the sea, on the 17th, presented a most interesting spectacle, both to the enemy and our army. It was Sir Edward Hughes and Mons. Suffrein, manœuvring with the English and French fleets. Suffrein, with fifteen sail of ships, half of them in very bad condition, made a shew of an intention to attack Sir Edward, who, with eighteen sail of coppered ships, (but their crews greatly debilitated by sickness) lay at anchor, covering the operations of the army. The next day, Hughes was out of sight, and before night, Suffrein rode at anchor in the roads of Cuddalore, the station that the English Admiral had abandoned. Mons. de Suffrein, with a reinforcement of men from the French garrison, stood out to sea on the 18th, and, after an engagement with the British Squadron on the 20th, regained the roads of Cuddalore on the 23d of June. The English Admiral, quitting his station to windward of the French, sailed for Madras, for a supply, it was given out, of water: although General Stuart is said to have wrote to the Admiral

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in different ways, informing him, that he had occupied Porto Novo with a proper force; that both there and at Chillumbrum, which had been opportunely possessed by our troops, on the eve of the 12th of June, there was entire safety and conveniency for watering; and that he could supply the fleet with fresh provisions. While Sir Edward Hughes pursued his voyage to Madras, Monf. de Suffrein, with fifteen sail of the line, besides frigates, lay at anchor, close to Cuddalore, where he landed, on the 24th, a reinforcement of 2,200 men, which included 1,200 Europeans and natives that had been lent to him from the garrison of Cuddalore, on the 18th of June. In this situation, so favourable for the French, and so alarming to our army, a large body of French regulars and other troops, in a sortie from Cuddalore, on the morning of the 25th of June, while it was yet dark, attacked the out-posts of our army. Our troops, though weakened by battle and severe duty, were not unprepared for them; and they were beat back with loss and disgrace. Colonel Gordon commanded in the trenches, assisted by Colonel Cathcart, who, with his grenadiers, supported and repelled every alarm. We lost Major Cotgrave, with about seventy men killed and wounded; the French, about three hundred: and their Commandant, a Colonel, was taken prisoner.

Colonel

Colonel Stewart, and all the officers, received the General's animated thanks for the success of our arms. The whole army on this, as on other occasions, admired the blooming virtues of Colonel Cathcart, who united martial courage with military skill, and the proper pride of family, with that modesty which becomes a fellow-citizen of a free country.

Although it be the object of these Memoirs to record facts, not intentions, yet it may not be thought either improper or uninformative here to relate a plan of co-operation proposed by Mons. de Suffrein to Mons. de Bufff; though, being rejected by the latter, it was never carried into execution. After Sir Edward Hughes quitted his station to the windward, and sailed for Madras, Mons. de Suffrein proposed to the French General, to land a great force near Cuddalore, in the night of the 23d of June, and then, with his empty ships, to make a shew of an intention to attack Porto Novo the next morning. The English Admiral, he assured him, with his utmost efforts, would not be able, on account of opposing tides and currents, to regain his station off Cuddalore, within the space of eight and forty hours at soonest. In the mean time, the English General, by the feint proposed, would be drawn to the defence of Porto Novo, on the possession of which he depended

for stores and provisions. And the French troops, landed secretly from the ships, might take possession of the works abandoned by the English. *Monf. de Buffy*, who entertained the highest opinion, it is said, of the vigilance and penetration of his antagonist, considered this stratagem as too hazardous to be carried into execution.

The French General, who knew the state of our army, determined to make a new and more vigorous sally. It was to consist of 5,000 Europeans, and to be made on the 4th of July. The situation of the English General was now the fullest that could be imagined of vexation, anxiety, and alarm. In two essential branches of his original plan, he had been disappointed. The enemy's force had increased, and was still increasing. He was deserted by *Sir Edward Hughes*, unsupported by the southern army, threatened by the position of the French fleet with want of necessary stores, and within half a gun shot of ten thousand European enemies. The General, in repeated letters to the Presidency of Madras, had brought to their recollection the original object of the campaign, and used the strongest arguments for desisting, at the present crisis, from all attempts of inland diversion towards the south-west; and pressing
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with the whole weight of our arms in the Carnatic, on the French at Cuddalore. The proportion of native troops, he stated, with the main army, in such an extensive circuit as the bounds of Cuddalore, was not sufficient to intercept the enemies supplies, much less to afford detachments to cover the watering of the fleet. The separate operations of the southern force, intended to draw Tippoo from the interesting objects which occupied him on the other side of India, had hitherto proved, and, if it should not be considerably strengthened, must continue to prove ineffectual. Hyder-Nagur and the province of Bednore, the original object of that force, were recovered by the enemy : and with regard to a diversion of Tippoo's army from Mangalore, there was not a more probable way of effecting that object, than to increase the apprehensions of the French for their own safety ; and under such apprehensions it was natural to suppose, they would exert their whole influence with Tippoo to come himself, or to send a sufficient force towards Cuddalore, against which, according to the General's plan, our whole combined force was to operate. These, with other arguments, were urged in vain. Even so late as the 17th of 1783.] June, the unfortunate day when Mons. de Suffrein, with the whole fleet of France in

India, by masterly manœuvres gained the roads of Cuddalore : on that very day did the Government of Madras sign and transmit their most positive commands to the officer then in the command of the southern army to continue inland operations, and to disregard all prior or future orders from the General, to the contrary, unless sanctioned by their approbation. But Colonel Fullarton, informed of the action of the 13th of June, and of the respective situations of the French and English fleets, marched with perfect propriety towards the Commander in Chief, though under the sanction of a letter from the Select Committee, ordering him to move in a contrary direction, he might have pursued a more tempting career in another quarter. The Colonel had arrived within three forced marches of General Stuart's camp, when, on receiving intelligence that all hostilities had ceased with France, and that a general peace had taken place in Europe, he returned to the southward. Above half the English army at Cuddalore marched to reinforce that which was commanded by Colonel Fullarton in Tanjore. The remainder encamped on the 27th of July, at the Mount.

A negotiation for peace was now carried on with Tippoo Saib, who, flushed with the retreat of
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one English army on the coast of Malabar, and the capture of another, was at this time employed, as above related, in the siege of Mangalore, the desperate defence of which, conducted by the gallant Colonel Campbell, will probably be considered by future historians as the most brilliant scene in the whole course of this war. The successes of Colonel Campbell sprung wholly from the resources of his own manly and persevering spirit. Though, from a combination of misfortune, and mismanagement on the part of others, this intrepid officer was left to his fate, he did not capitulate before his faithful garrison were reduced to their last pint of rice; or before they had fed on the putrid carcases of animals held in aversion and horror; or before a large force, sent to their aid from Bombay, had anchored before Mangalore, tantalizing the garrison, for three days, with the delusive hope of effectual relief!

Mangalore is the chief place of strength, and commands the best harbour in Canara. It is situated in the thirteenth degree of north latitude, at the conflux of two rivers, which disembogue themselves into the sea under the muzzles of its guns. At this place it is about half a mile wide, and, within the bar, forms a spacious harbour for ships of five hundred tons. The fort, which is nearly square, is built of stone. It has three

towers, with very thin and weak battlements; and artillery is mounted on each of its sides, which face the four cardinal points. On the west side, next the sea, there is an oblong addition to the fort, on very low ground, reaching the whole length of that side, with four circular turrets and guns. The fort of Mangalore has a pretty good ditch, except to the eastward, where about sixty feet of the rock was not cut through; and round the covered way there are eight towers, with artillery mounted on each of them. The ditch is not wet towards the north-east and south-east quarters; and, in summer, even the western part of the ditch becomes almost dry. It would exceed the limits within which it has been thought proper to confine these Memoirs, to enter into a detail of the siege of this fortress. Let it suffice, for the present, if we state the force that was brought against it, that by which it was defended, and some of the principal actions and occurrences, which may serve to convey an idea of the resources, both of the besiegers and besieged.

The force that now invested Mangalore consisted in 60,000 horse; 30,000 disciplined sepoys; 600 French infantry, under the command of Colonel Coffigny; Mons. Lally's corps, composed of Europeans and natives; a French troop
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of European dismounted cavalry, under the command of Monf. Boodena, an officer in the French service ; many thousands of irregulars, and near 100 pieces of artillery. The whole of this vast army amounted to 140,000 fighting men. The front of their encampment extended, from right to left, three miles : and parties were stationed upon and behind the adjacent hills. They were commanded by Tippoo-Sultan in person. His brother, Kirrum-Saib, and Mahomed-Ally Khan, one of his father's most trusted commanders and confidential friends, were also present.

The strength of our garrison was composed of 696 Europeans, including 91 officers, and 2,850 black troops, amounting in all to 3,546 fighting men, besides pioneers and camp followers.

The enemy broke ground on the north side of the fort, and by the 27th of May completed eleven embrasures. A party of our men went out to destroy this work, and to spike their guns, but were repulsed. On the 29th, the garrison was astonished with volleys of large stones, some of them weighing 150 pounds. The stones were affixed to wooden plugs or stoppers, fitted, and by means of a sledge, forced tightly into the calibres or chases of mortars. They generally fell within

within the fort, being directed with great precision. When they met not with any resistance, their velocity, accelerated by the height from which they fell, buried them in the earth.—Where they were opposed by any body harder than themselves, they were dashed into a thousand pieces. There was no shelter for our troops from these terrible annoyances. Their noise in the night was dreadful, and their effects often horrid, and always fatal. Those who were struck by them in the body, were cut off by a sudden, and of course, an easy death : but the unfortunate sufferers who were crushed by them in their extremities, often lingered in excruciating pain for several days. Some amputations were performed : but there was not so much as one instance of recovery. The stones also destroyed the roofs of huts and houses, for which materials were wanting to repair them : a circumstance, in the height of a monsoon, truly deplorable. A constant and heavy cannonade was kept up from the batteries erected on the north, on the east, and on the south. On the evening of the 4th of June, the whole north face of the fort, with its towers, was entirely dismantled. A few days after, a practicable breach was effected in the wall, which, it was expected, the enemy would storm ; especially as they had rejected with disdain a flag of truce. In vain did
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the English repel with the bayonet, repeated attacks on batteries constructed on commanding ground without, but near the fortrefs : in vain they silenced the batteries of the enemy, and spiked their brass mortars and guns. New touch-holes were drilled with incredible expedition. Those destructive machines were played anew, in triumph : masked batteries were opened : the approaches of the enemy were brought so near, that they threw fascines on our covered way and the edge of the glacis : and at length, repeated summonses of surrender being treated by the Colonel with contempt and defiance, they determined, on the 4th of July, to storm the breach which had been practicable ever since the 7th of June. A body of their troops, armed with coutcaus, two feet long, of the shape of pruning hooks, and with spears mounted on light bamboos, fourteen feet and an half in length, sallied from their trenches, and rushed into the tower on the left of the outer eastern gate, while the guns that had played against that tower, were directed elsewhere, but still kept up their firing. Their whole line was now in motion, pressing on to support the party that had penetrated into the tower, and gained an adjacent rampart. But, after a short struggle, in which Captain Bowles of the artillery was killed by a random shot, they were forced

forced to retreat. Lieutenant Ralston, who had the charge of the eastern gate, on seeing the sepoy guard give way, attacked them vigorously, and, after a short but severe conflict, in which he himself was severely, and two of his men mortally wounded, repulsed them with the bayonet. This officer received public thanks for his active gallantry on this occasion. This attempt on the part of the enemy, was returned on the 6th of July, by a sally from us, of thirty men, into a lodgement they had made in our works, opposite to the gate and tower just mentioned, which drove them back. This drew out the enemy from their camp, to a general attack on our northern covered way, which was resolutely and gallantly assaulted, but with superior gallantry and resolution defended against fresh troops and superior numbers.

In this action, one of the hottest during the siege, we lost some of our best officers; Ensign Macintyre, and the Lieutenants Kenneth Mackenzie, Gordon, Boyce, and Macgregor, fireworker. About forty of our men were killed, and one hundred wounded. The enemy, by the 15th of July, had wrought themselves along the whole of our northern covered way, and began to fill up the ditch opposite to the breach. The gates of the fort, being much damaged,

damaged, were shut up, and two fally ports cut, to supply their place. New batteries were raised by the assailants: and, in one of their assaults, which were now very frequent, they intended to scale the walls of a fort situated at the junction of the river with the sea, called, from its figure, Octagon, which had hitherto remained undisturbed. In the mean time, our men, while they were thus assailed by Tippoo Sultan without the fortrefs, were forced to contend, with want of necessary subsistence, and with other inconveniencies, within. Their stock of cattle did not at first exceed three hundred, and near a third part of these, from distress of weather, and fundry neglects, died in the great ditch. The weather being wet, and the air close, the stench that arose from the putrid carcases of the animals was insufferable. From the 13th of June, the Europeans were put on half allowance of beef. The hospital was now excessively crowded with sick and wounded, and totally unprovided with beds, medicines, and proper nourishment: no tea, sugar, sago, wine, or any thing else that could alleviate distress. The sick men became averse to going into the hospital, which they considered as their grave, and gave themselves up to despair.

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In the midst of these discouraging circumstances, two boats arrived from Mr. Sibbald, Resident at Tellicherry, with the agreeable information that three or four battalions would certainly join the garrison, from Bombay, by the 10th of August; that 1500 British and Hanoverians, destined for Mangalore, had actually left Madras under Colonel Gordon, so early as the 20th of May; and that Colonel Fullarton, at the head of an army of 500 European soldiers, and 16,000 sepoy, with 22 pieces of cannon, managed by a good train of artillery, having reduced several small forts, had advanced, in his march to the coast of Malabar, near to Pallacatcherry; that an army had gone against Arcot, and that hopes were entertained of the reduction of Seringapatnam, and of the dismemberment of the Mysorean empire. The garrison, animated by this intelligence, gave a *feu-de-joy*, with three cheers, from the ramparts. Tippoo Sultan, as well as the French Resident at his Court, had been informed, some days before this, of the general pacification in Europe, in which Tippoo was included as an ally of France, though they had concealed it from our garrison, in the hopes that, from the extremities to which they were reduced, they would be induced to capitulate. But the *feu-de-joy* having led them rightly to conclude,

that the English too, had received intelligence of the peace, the French troops refused to co-operate any longer with Tippoo in reducing Mangalore. A letter was received, under a flag of truce, by Colonel Campbell, from *Mons. Piveron de Morlay*, Envoy at the Durbar of Mysore, from France, with very particular news from the coast of *Coromandel*, where was now a cessation of arms, respecting a peace in Europe. These he wished to communicate to Colonel Campbell in person, without being blindfolded, as is customary during hostilities, when he should come within the English works. *Mons. de Piveron*, with his retinue, was very politely received by the Commander of Mangalore, with whom he had a long conference. But, in the mean time, even while a flag of truce was flying, Tippoo persevered in carrying on war against the redoubt above mentioned, which commands the entrance of the river, and which being without a ditch, and incapable of a long defence, surrendered on terms, after a practicable breach was made in its walls.

During the progress of hostilities, but especially after it was understood that there was some prospect of peace, there are not a few instances of the enemy's centinels, when they perceived our people off their guard, beckoning to them

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to get under cover, lest they should be obliged to fire at them. Our men were not behind them in this act of humanity; but, it is only justice to say, that the enemy set the example. The French Envoy came a second time into the fort, on the 22d of July, and in order to favour a negotiation for peace, a suspension of hostilities was agreed on for two days. In this interval, and even while some of Tippoo's principal people were in the fort, a mine was sprung under the outer eastern gate, which almost smothered the whole of the guard with rubbish, but wounded several soldiers and sepoy, and buried five men in the ruins. Of this disaster, which was represented as flowing accidentally from the ashes of a tobacco-pipe thrown carelessly on the line of powder laid before the suspension, Tippoo Sultan declared his entire ignorance, and offered to deliver up the person supposed to be in fault, to be punished at the English Commander's discretion; a sacrifice which Colonel Campbell did not require. The English Engineer lost not a moment to fill up the opening that was made in the wall. During this short suspension of hostilities, the enemy erected, towards the south-east quarter of the fort, a battery of 10 guns: upon which the garrison, exasperated at this appearance of treachery, brought all the guns they could, to bear with uncommon fury.

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The letter communicated by the French Envoy to Colonel Campbell contained a requisition from Messrs. Sadlier and Staunton, the deputies of the Madras Government at Cuddalore, to abstain from hostilities with Tippoo, upon certain conditions agreed to by Monsieur de Buffly, the French Governor General, from whom Monsieur de Piveron received the packet.

After frequent, though short suspensions of hostilities, and a great deal of correspondence between the French Envoy, the Sultan, and our Commandant, a cessation of hostilities was ratified on the 2d of August, in which the garrisons of Onore and Carwar were included. The enemy allowed, at this juncture, that by disease and the sword, they had lost 7,000 men: our loss was also great. The troops were worn down with constant fighting in the day, and hard duty at night. Their short intervals of repose, as they were unfeltered by bomb-proofs or casemates, were interrupted by the noise of those tremendous stones that were thrown from mortars, which impressed their minds, even amidst their slumbers, with dread and horror. Nor did there pass a day in which several of our men were not cut off by a large and heavy kind of musket, called a *jinjall*. It is very long in the barrel, larger than a common musket in the bore,

and sledged on a rest, for the purpose of taking a steady and sure aim. At different intervals, very thick planks were posted, musket proof, and pierced with several eyelet-holes, through which the enemy shot at every one of our people they could set their eyes on. But a truce having now taken place, the garrison enjoyed a degree of liberty, walked out occasionally, and conversed with the French officers under Colonel Cossigny. This gentleman, who had refused to co-operate with Tippoo, from the moment he knew of a peace in Europe, now demanded a passport for his detachment to Mahée, with provisions, draught cattle, and boats for crossing certain unfordable rivers : all which the Mysorean, provoked at his forbearance to act any longer against the English, haughtily refused. But Cossigny, having privately received hatchets and cordage for making rafts, from Colonel Campbell, one morning before dawn suddenly marched off. Tippoo sent 600 horsemen after him, not to *request*, but to *command* him to return. Cossigny formed his men, in order to receive them, and bade them come on at their peril : on which, after a short parley, they returned to their camp. Cossigny proceeded on his march to Tellicherry. As no orders had yet arrived for evacuating Mahée, or admitting Colonel Cossigny's detachment into that place,

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the British Resident at Tellicherry received them hospitably at that settlement, and gave them permission to pitch their camp in the island of Daraporam, situated in the bay, at a small distance from the shore.

Though it is education and example chiefly that form the characters of nations and men, yet among the human race there are strong marks of distinction, originally impressed on the frame of the body and mind by the hand of Nature. In the very bosom of luxury, and before the very throne of barbarian bigotry, a family has arisen, in our times, who, uniting the greatest valour with the most profound sagacity, and the loftiest ambition, have laboured with success to learn the European arts, that they might thereby be enabled to oppose and overturn European, and particularly the English dominion in Asia. Nor were the hostile intentions of Hyder-Ally-Cawn confined to that quarter of the world: he formed the magnificent plan of raising by degrees such a fleet as might dispute with England the sovereignty of the sea, and even retort, it is said, the invasions that had harrassed India, on the Island of Great Britain. He possessed all the materials for ship-building in superior abundance, and some of these of greater excellence than any to be found in Europe. He allured

artificers into his service from foreign countries, and trained up workmen in his own. For several years he had been employed in building, and in the year 1781, had nearly finished six ships of the line of battle, some of which were afloat, together with several frigates and sloops of war. All these were exceedingly strong and thick in the planks, being intended to encounter the European seas, the water of which, he had heard, was very *strong* and *thick*; a confused idea of ice. The ships of Hyder were destroyed in 1782 and the beginning of 1783, by our fleet; nor did he live to repair their loss. But his son Tippoo, the heir of his dominions, his genius, and his vast designs, neglected not any means, or the pursuit of any accomplishment or art by which these might be carried into execution. He was instructed in the Persian and French languages, and he also knew a little of the English, in which the word of command was given to his soldiers. He learned the elements of mathematics, and was familiarly conversant with the principles of gunnery, and military architecture and tactics. With the baggage of the officers that fell into his hands on the 23d of May, there was found Sime's Military Guide. This book was carried to Tippoo by some of his people, who, according to their superstitious notions, supposed that the draughts which it contained, related in

some mysterious manner, to arts of incantation. The Sultan, who instantly discovered its nature, began to shew great civility to Lieutenant Spottiswood, a prisoner, by sending cloth to him, and other presents. At last, a person from the Sultan requested him to translate the Treatise into the Moor's language, which he spoke fluently: but Mr. Spottiswood politely excused himself, saying, that he could not answer for translating a military book, without orders from his Commander.—They who take delight in tracing resemblances between antient and modern characters, will be able to find many points of comparison between Tippoo and Hannibal: both at once subtle and brave; studious of the knowledge of their times; trained up by their fathers in hostility to the first power of the age; exciting the vengeance of all nations against that power; and in this career, taking a wider range than that which usually bounded their views: Hannibal extending his intrigues to the nations on the Red Sea; Tippoo Saib to Constantinople, and other seats of power on the Mediterranean.

No sooner was the cause of Tippoo Sultan abandoned by the French, than he sought to connect himself with all other powers whom he considered as the natural enemies of England,

and endeavoured to convert the Mahomedan religion into a band of union among different nations, for the purpose of expelling the Europeans from Hindostan. He broke through almost every article of the cessation of arms. It was stipulated in the armistice that the Nabob should furnish for the garrison, three times a week, a bazar stored with all sorts of provisions, at the rate of his own markets. A bazar was accordingly furnished; but every article was so exorbitantly dear, that there was scarcely any thing which the men could purchase. The prices were daily raised, till a fowl sold from nine to twelve rupees, a seer of rice for four, a seer of salt for three, and a frog for sixpence. Seven boats, laden with provisions from Bombay, were seized by Tippoo, and the articles they contained were sold by his people in the bazar, at the dreadful rate just stated. This plan of the Sultan's, for reducing the fort of Mangalore by famine, was carried to the utmost height within his power, by a total stoppage of the bazar. Horfes flesh was now delicious food. Snakes, ravenous birds, rats, and mice were sought after and eaten with voracity. For the two last months of the siege, from seven to fifteen men, died every day from the want of the necessaries of life. A deep melancholy, arising from weakness of body, despair of relief so often

often promised in vain, and from every surrounding object, rendered the men who survived their fellow-foldiers indifferent how they interred them: so that they often became the food of the jackall and the pariar dog. The famished soldier lay in wait with his musket, and a stolen cartridge, to kill those horrid animals in the act of tearing up the dead: and, when he succeeded, the animal was carried in with triumph.

A reinforcement of 300 Hanoverians appeared off Mangalore in two ships of war, with other ships in company: but as the troops could not land, according to the terms of the armistice, they were ordered to sail to Tillicherry. Brig. Gen. Macleod also, appeared from the north, on the 1783] 25th of November, with 11 ships and 34 smaller vessels, having on board the long promised relief for the garrison, with 1,000 Europeans, 3,000 sepoy, and 350 marines, seamen and artillery men. The General had made signals to the garrison, and was advised by a Council of War, held on board his ship, to land his succours, when, in consequence of a negotiation he carried on with Tippoo, by means of his Secretary, Mr. Leighton, whom he sent on shore for that purpose, he set sail with the reinforcement on the 31st of December,

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having stipulated with the Sultan, that provisions should be admitted into the garrison, for one month. The whole, however, of this supply, drawn it is said, from damaged stores purchased from a Navy Agent, was not permitted to pass into the garrison. Provisions of course were dealt out with a sparing hand, and not a little of these of so bad a quality, as to be rejected, not only by the men, but by the very dogs. Our officers now feared a general desertion of the sepoys; and a mutiny among the Europeans, particularly the 42d regt. one of whom, on the parade swore "by G-d that they should not further submit to such treatment." When Macleod failed, the garrison signified that they were unable to hold out any longer. The General answered by signals that they should soon be succoured. His orders from the Government of Bombay, were, by no means to provoke hostilities, but to encourage a disposition to peace, and, particularly, to abstain from all violent measures, if one month's provisions should be admitted into Mangalore. He now made sail to the southward, and took and pillaged Cananore, the Ranah or Queen of which had sent two English officers, with 30 sepoys, east on her coast by a storm, to Tippoo Sultan. This exploit, which was performed with a spirit that overcame the obstinate resistance of the Moplas,

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was, however, of no importance with regard to the main object for which the troops under Macleod had been sent from Bombay. To raise the siege of Mangalore, seemed practicable, at this time, only by the movements of our southern army under Colonel Fullarton; with whom General Macleod, though a senior officer, had determined, with true magnanimity, to act in concert, and to second his operations, without interposing any act of authority that might interrupt or interfere with his rapid and successful progress.

To attempt a diversion of the Ruler of Mysore's arms from the Carnatic, by invading his own dominions on the coast of Malabar, was an idea that naturally occurred to all who were acquainted with the political and geographical situation, and attached to the English interest in India. But the most intelligent and active promoter of this plan of operations, was Mr. John Sullivan, Resident at Tanjore, and Superintendent of the revenues assigned by the Nabob for defraying the expence of the war, in the provinces of Marawa, and Trichinopoly. This gentleman had enjoyed opportunities, and made it his study to acquire an intimate knowledge of the countries and nations situated towards the southern and western sides of India. He possessed

fed a fublimity of genius which combined a number of particulars in one general view, and an ardour of mind which carried him on to great enterprizes. He was alfo diftinguifhed by that engaging affability and mildnefs of manners, which gain every thing by affuming nothing, and which are peculiarly neceffary, in new and undefined governments, to unite the minds of men, in different fituations, and with oppofite pretentions, into one harmonious fystem of action. Mr. Sullivan, ftruck with the amazing fertility of Coimbatore, and its continuity with our fouthern provinces, conceived the plan of giving compactnefs and ftrength to our dominions by the conqueft of that important province. The poffeffion of Coimbatore, by advancing our pofts to the paffes of Myfore, would contract our line of defence, and add to our refources one of the principal magazines of the enemy. Every mile that we fhould advance into the country of Coimbatore, would be a wound to the Myforeans, and an acceffion of ftrength to the Englifh. It was therefore determined by the Council of Madras, in confequence of the representations of Mr. Sullivan, that, while Colonel Humberftone's little army fhould march light to Pallacatcherry from Callicut, another force, under Colonel Lang, fhould advance with heavy artillery, to the fame place,
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from Trichinopoly. Tippoo Saib, it was understood, would not have run the risk of placing himself between two fires, had the southern army moved, though slowly.—With this plan of operation Mr. Sullivan endeavoured to combine the effects of political intrigue. A negotiation was entered into with the partizans of the antient family of Myfore, for raising them to the throne of their ancestors. This 1782] treaty was begun in April, and concluded in October, when Humberstone, whose movements it was said had given spirit to our friends in Myfore, was understood to be before Pallacatcherry. But Gen. Stuart, the military Commander in Chief, opposed in the Committee all such schemes of inland operations, at any distance from our own frontiers: and Colonel Lang, then in the command of the southern force, had his instructions to risk nothing beyond our own southern provinces, the force with him being barely sufficient for their defence, far less, at that time, to attempt any junction with Humberstone, without extreme danger of being cut off. Humberstone, destitute of all means to reduce Pallacatcherry, was forced to make a speedy retreat towards Pananah, on the Malabar coast.

After the cessation of hostilities at Cuddalore, the plan of offensive operations against the enemy,

my, on the western side of India, was resumed. Colonel Fullarton, strongly reinforced by detachments from the main army, under the Colonels Stewart and Elphinstone, at the head of 14,000 men, of whom about 2,000 were Europeans, with a suitable train of artillery, having reduced the refractory Collieries and Polygars, began to move in full force to the westward. Through many difficulties, arising, not from certain small forts, which were easily reduced, but from forests, woods, rice-grounds, unusual rains, and the interfections of the river Paniani, he pressed on towards Pallacatcherry, which might serve as a magazine of stores and provisions for the prosecution of his designs against Myfore, or to secure a retreat, if necessary. The surrender of Pallacatcherry, on the 13th of November, in which the active valour of Captain Maitland was particularly signalized, prepared the way for that of Coimbatore, on the 26th. The Colonel intended to prosecute his march towards Gudjerreddy and Seringapatnam, when Commissioners of Peace, sent to Tippoo from Madras, ordered him not to proceed any farther. It were superfluous to give a particular description, did the limited scale of this little work admit, of events so distinctly related by the principal actor in the scenes described.* It is not, however,

* See Fullarton's View of the English Interests in India.

ever foreign to the purpose of Military Memoirs, to observe, that the means by which Col. Fullarton conducted the army under his command, with uninterrupted success, and performed great service to his country, are worthy of applause, and imitation. A summary review of the measures which he pursued, and the principles on which he acted, proves, that the want of long military experience may, in some situations, be supplied by natural sagacity and honest intentions. When Colonel Fullarton succeeded to the chief command of the southern provinces, those countries were in a state of extreme wretchedness. Almost every sepoy corps in our service had been defeated or destroyed; the districts were ravaged, the inhabitants plundered, the revenues exhausted, the magazines empty, the Polygars in rebellion, and the troops, with little pay, discipline, or subsistence, in a state of consternation. In these circumstances Colonel Fullarton was solicitous, in the first place, to conciliate the confidence and co-operation of the principal officers of the King and Company, both in civil and military departments. With the aid of Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Irwin, Mr. Hippisley, Mr. Digby, and Mr. Orpin, men, able, zealous, and united in the public cause; and that of the senior officers of the army, particularly the Colonels Stewart, Forbes, and Elphinstone,

stone, he was enabled to provide subsistence, and restore discipline to the army, to establish tranquillity throughout the provinces, and to march in prosecution of distant enterprizes. While he carefully concealed his own intentions, in some instances even from the government under which he acted, he laboured to learn those of the enemy, roads, distances, and other circumstances, by procuring from different quarters, though at a great expence, the best hircarrahs that could be found, and forming such a system for their management as might, in the most effectual manner, secure their fidelity and the speediest information. He gained the good will and esteem of the army, by prohibiting, in imitation of General Stuart, all contributions on the bazar, and by a prompt and fair distribution of prize-money. Fifty thousand pagodas, found in Pallacatcherry, were distributed among the officers and soldiers at the drum-head.—Among other maxims by which Colonel Fullarton was governed, those of the most important, were, always to move to a fixed point, and that there was not any reason to be apprehensive of famine, in any country where the enemy could find provisions. By following these rules for intelligence, movement, and supply: by a regular payment of *working-money* to the troops, when employed on extraordinary duties of fatigue, and by

by inspecting every department himself, Colonel Fullarton carried an army from the Coromandel to the Malabar coast, through untried roads, with rapid success.—The interference of the Commissioners of Peace, and their positive and unqualified orders to desist from all hostile operations, on the one hand interrupted the career of his glory; but, on the other secured him against any of those accidents which might have arisen from a close and continued contest with the Mysoorean force under the renowned Tippoo-Saib, and which, by that illusion of imagination, through which it is fortune, chiefly, that decides the popular reputation of military commanders, might have detracted, in the estimation of the multitude, from the praise that is due to his excellent conduct.

When we reflect on the successes that might have been expected from a junction, or harmonious co-operation of the forces under the command of Colonel Fullarton and General Macleod, we are constrained to indulge those sentiments of regret and indignation, which, it is natural to suppose, must have filled the minds of these gentlemen, when, the former received orders to abandon the valuable acquisitions he had made, at a crisis that promised, by subverting the family of Hyder-Ally, to exalt the power and

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 consequence of the English in India. Such emotions, however, are, in a great measure, repressed, when we reflect on the situation of the Company's affairs, and the consequences that might have flowed from even a continuance of success against Tippoo. Although supplies of money, from seven to eight millions of pounds, had been remitted, in the course of the war, from Bengal to the other Presidencies, for the support of the army, it is certain that our troops on the Malabar coast were, from 14 to 18 months in arrears. The little that was paid of what was due, was, three-fourths of it, issued in transfer notes or treasury chits, instead of cash, which, from necessity, they were in general obliged to discount at a prodigious disadvantage. At Bombay, discount, during the series of the war, was not less than 30 per cent. and, at one time, after the fall of Bednore, and the capture of General Mathews's army, it was from 70 to 75 per cent. : so low had the credit of the Company sunk in India! * At this alarm-

* It has, not unnaturally, been considered as a matter of wonder, that the army should have been in such straits, notwithstanding the money actually thrown into the Presidencies of both Bombay and Madras, by the Governor-General and Supreme Council. A bold conjecture has been advanced, that the Pay-masters General, tho' they actually received cash to pay the troops, at least in part, did, not-

alarming crisis, the fortune of Great Britain in India seemed to hang upon the patriotism of one man, in a private station, who, on his own unbounded credit with the shroffs, * borrowed money from time to time, in his own name, and gave it into the Treasury of Bombay, on no other security than the depreciated bonds of the Company. Had this resource failed, the sepoy must have mutinied for a total want of pay, and the secret of our weakness, thereby betrayed, have spread the contagion of distrust and revolt throughout the whole of India. Never was the glory of commerce more emphatically displayed, than when one great and liberal merchant, † interposed with effect, his private credit for the public welfare !

As the Company were not in a condition to sustain the expence of war, prolonged much
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notwithstanding this, issue transfer notes or chits, which they again bought up by their Agents in the bazar, at the enormous discount above-mentioned. Care too, it has been said, was taken, in issuing these transfers, not to do it regularly by the month ; but, after a lapse of time, to issue a great number at once, in order to over-stock the bazar, and enhance the discount, by depreciating the paper currency.

* Money-lenders.

† Mr. DAVID SCOTT, at that time a free merchant of Bombay, now one of the Directors of the East India Company.

farther, so neither could they expect any farther succours from home, after the public councils had become wholly pacific, if Tippoo should accede to any reasonable terms. Little dependence, it was supposed, could be placed on the co-operation of the Mahratta with the English arms, for the purpose of compelling Tippoo to accept even an equal peace : but, if we should reduce him to extremities, the Mahrattas, as well as other powers, might unite with him against us. Nor would it, perhaps, have been found policy in the British Councils to have effected the entire overthrow of Tippoo, if this had been in their power. He was a necessary barrier against the mighty power of the Mahrattas. It was requisite to humble, but not proper to crush him.

But, if a speedy and safe peace with Tippoo was necessary, at this crisis, to the East India Company and to Great-Britain, the mode in which the Presidency of Madras sought to accomplish it, appears to have been the least adapted to that salutary end, that could be well imagined. The requisitorial dispatches for an immediate cessation of hostilities sent to Colonel Campbell at Mangalore, transmitted from the French Governor-General by his own messenger, under the authority of the deputies from Madras,

dras,* put it in the power of Tippoo to gain several advantages over the garrison by the most flagrant breaches of faith. The same gentlemen, who had acted as deputies from Madras to the French Governor-General, in the characters of Commissioners for treating of final peace with Tippoo, left Madras in October 1783, and immediately put themselves in the power of Tippoo's chief officer in the Carnatic, and consequently of Tippoo himself: and all this after the perfidy of that tyrant had been loudly declared by the melancholy fate of General Mathews's army. From the moment the Commissioners entered the territories of Mysore, they were treated with unkindness and indignity, and ceased to be their own masters: They carried with them 700 coolies, and a great quantity of apparel for the officers and soldiers in prison; but they were not allowed to deliver them. When they had arrived within a day's journey of Tippoo they halted, and sent notice of their approach, with a request to know when he would grant them an audience. He named some distant day, it is said, and appointed some village, or seat of his own, in which they might amuse themselves during the interval. When the day

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* Messrs. Sadleir and Staunton: the first, a member of the Council of Madras; the second private Secretary to Lord Macartney.

of audience came, some impediment or other, was urged as a pretext for a new prorogation. They were cut off from all communication with their government and countrymen, except that they were permitted to send open notes, to the master of a ship cruising off Mangalore, announcing, from day to day, the near approach of peace. The Commissioners now apprehensive of falling, like so many of their countrymen at Bednore, by poison, formed a project to leave their numerous train behind them and make their escape to Tillicherry. This project miscarried, and they continued in the state of imprisoned men, labouring for their own extrication from imminent danger. The crafty Myforean, drew them after him from one place to another, and, on various pretences, declined to see them from day to day, waiting, before he should conclude any terms of peace, for the fall of Mangalore, an event which, from the extremities to which it was now reduced by famine, and despair of relief from all quarters, could not be distant. — Our brave garrison having held out seven months after hostilities had ceased with the French at Cuddalore, by orders of the Madras Government, at last offered terms of capitulation, * to which

* Among the articles of capitulation this was one, that the fortress of Mangalore was given up for whatever fortress in the Carnatic should be stipulated for it by the Commissioners.

1784] which Tippoo agreed. On the first of February, they marched out of the fortrefs of Mangalore, with arms, accoutrements, and the honours of war, to embark for Tillicherry, where they arrived four days after. It had been stipulated that not a single man of Tippoo's army should move from camp to take possession of Mangalore, before the whole of the English garrison should have embarked on their transports. But, after they were in motion, and the last file had left the gate, Tippoo, impatient of delay, sent a party of his troops to take possession of the fortrefs. Colonel Campbell instantly ordered his men to halt, and sent an officer to Tippoo, to inform him, that if he did not desist, he would immediately re-enter the fortrefs and defend it with the last drop of his blood. Tippoo recalled his detachment, and the garrison embarked, without dismay, or the least interruption. This intrepid and able officer, worn out with fatigue and care, soon after this, breathed his last at Bombay. Colonel Campbell was reserved in his manners, and, in military discipline most severe: yet, by the officers of the army he was held in the highest respect, and to the common soldiers he was almost an object of adoration. On every occasion of alarm the presence of Campbell restored the courage of the men,

men, as by magical power: In the midst of the hottest action he was cool and collected.

The general terms on which the Presidency of Madras is said to have proposed to make peace with Tippoo, was, a mutual restoration of all places and prisoners; so that each belligerent party should remain in the same state as before the war. However, Tippoo's Ministers, with whom our two Commissioners had held conferences [1783.] on the subject of peace, in November, desired, as a preliminary to all pacificatory negotiation, an unconditional delivery of Mangalore. But, after the Commissioners had thus put their persons in Tippoo's power, the original views of the Madras Government, whatever they were, ceased to be regarded by him, or by his Ministers, who, in fact, after the reduction of Pallacatcherry, gave orders, through the Commissioners, to Colonel Fullarton, then in the command of an army, more numerous than that which had been known as the Carnatic main army: A difference of opinion having arisen between Mr. Sadleir and Mr. Staunton, the former declaring for an unconditional surrender of Mangalore, the latter insisting on an equivalent, (though it was not in their power, at that time, to dispose of it in the one way or other) the Presidency of Madras, in order to prevent future disputes concerning what might really be
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in their power, added to the commission Mr. Huddleston, Secretary to the Select Committee of Madras,

While the Plenipotentiaries from Madras endeavoured to obtain an equivalent for the restitution of Mangalore, with all the effect that was to be expected from their situation, that fortress fell into the hands of the enemy. This important object attained, the haughty Myforean condescended to honour our Ambassadors with an audience. A time was appointed for an interview, at which, it is said, care was taken that the Vakeels of the Princes of Hindostan at the Court of Tippoo should be present. The Sultan, as he was then called, received our Commissioners with much stateliness, gravely asked their business, and what favour they meant to ask of him. They declared the object of their mission, and stated their proposals: to which, for the present, he made not any reply; but desired the Foreign Ambassadors to mark the greatness of his power, and that the English, almost ruined by the war, had now come to beg a peace. The Commissioners were detained for five weeks after the fall of Mangalore. A treaty of peace, on the ground of a mutual restitution of places and prisoners, was at last concluded on the 11th of March. Until this mutual restitu- [1784.
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tion should take place, Amboor was to remain in the possession of Tippoo, and Dindigul in that of the English.

But in this treaty with Tippoo, the name of the Nabob of Arcot was not so much as mentioned. This defect was supplied by the just and extended views of the Governor-General and Council of Bengal, who were apprehensive that it might subject the East India Company to an imputation of injustice to their allies, and of an usurpation of authority vested in another power. The ability, the zeal, the elevation of Lord Macartney above mercenary motives, did not exempt him from a spirit of domination, and of hostile vengeance against all who, in any respect, opposed or interfered with the measures of his administration. The extreme necessities of the Company, and the mismanagement of the Nabob's Ministers, had suggested to the Governor of Madras, shortly after his arrival, a plan for supplying the former, by superseding the latter. Lord Macartney, in December 1781, obtained from the Nabob of Arcot, on certain stipulations for the support of his Highness's dignity and family, an assignment of the revenues of the Carnatic to himself, for the support of the war, with power to farm them out for the term of three or five years, at his own discretion. The revenues were improved, and faithfully employed

ployed in the service of the Company: but a parsimonious and severe hand dealt out the pittance that was allowed to the unfortunate Nabob. Even rice, it is said, was wanting for the maintenance of his domestics. He repented of having assigned his revenues, remonstrated with Lord Macartney in all the bitterness of grief and freedom of indignation, and laid his just complaint before the Supreme Council, who revoked the assignment, and restored the Nabob to the interior management of his territories. Lord Macartney, supported by the authority of the Court of Directors, resisted that of the Governor-General and Council, which, however, finally prevailed, being entirely approved by the Board of Controul. It is in this political and personal contest that we are to look for a reason, why, in a treaty that respected the *Carnatic Payen Gaut*, the name and rights of the Prince, who in the eyes of the Country Powers possessed the sovereignty of that country, were wholly omitted.

The pacification with Tippoo Sultan was brought to a termination by the mutual restitution of Amboor and Dindigul: though his detention of five hundred English prisoners, * his

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[* Including officers, serjeants, drummers, and women; and artificers, whom he allured into his service, during

menaces to our ally the Rajah of Travancore, his intrigues at the Durbars of Hindostan, and the Court of France, declared at that period, and still declare, that it was not his intention that the peace should be lasting.

But, whatever may be the inclination, it will not now, it may reasonably be supposed, be in the power of Tippoo, or any other enemy, to excite so sudden an alarm, or to carry such rapid and prolonged devastation into the Carnatic, as those which marked the steps of Hyder-Ally in 1780. Every convulsion that shakes a state, if it does not subvert, strengthens it. The English nation, aware of the dangers that threaten their eastern possessions, and the sources from whence they spring, take measures, in times of peace, for averting or sustaining the storm of war. It is their plan to secure, not to extend their territorial possessions; to dismantle most of their garrison-towns; to fortify only a few places; to increase their military establishment; and to canton the troops in such a manner as to act at a moment's warning. The disadvantages arising from the claims of great officers, civil and military, have become palpable. The powers of government have been better defined,

during the war, by a promise that they should be released, together with their companions, on the return of peace.

fined, and rendered more free and active. At the same time that a prosecution was carried on against Mr. Hastings for acting, on a great emergency, with that decision and promptitude which political necessity required, the good sense of the British Legislature did homage to the spirit of his administration, by uniting in the person of the Earl Cornwallis, the power of the Commander in Chief and the Governor-General.

FINIS.